

STUDIES

Spring - Summer 1960

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The Dead Sea Scrolls—Qumran Calmly Revisited

LEWIS M. ROGERS

Almost thirteen years have passed since the unearthing of the Dead Sea Scrolls. A great deal has been accomplished since that momentous event in 1947: texts from Cave I, which include the seven manuscripts of the original shepherd find, are now almost completely published and are available in several English translations.¹ In spite of early skepticism on the part of some scholars, the genuineness of these scrolls is now well established.² Most scholars have agreed that the manuscripts are authentic and that they are to be dated between the second century B.C. and the first century of the Christian era. In addition, the preliminary process of identifying the numerous bits and fragments from Cave IV, assumed to have been the chief cache of the Qumran community, is almost completed. However, the tasks of transcription, textual study, and interpretation are yet to be accomplished before these documents will be ready for publication.

The ruins at Qumran were carefully excavated. Aerial photography aided in the reconstruction of the site. Models of the settlement, diagrams, photographs and maps of the area have now been made available for study.³ In the meantime, research

Dr. Rogers is assistant professor of religion at Brigham Young University.

¹Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1955) and T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1956) include most of the Cave I materials in English translation. More technical analyses of the various manuscripts have appeared in several technical journals: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Journal of Bible and Religion*, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, and others.

²Solomon Zeitlin, an eminent Jewish scholar, has been the chief exponent of the opposition. The reader is directed to the following articles: Solomon Zeitlin, "How Ancient are the Hebrew Scrolls from the Dead Sea?" *Judaism*, VI (1957), pp. 55-58; S. Zeitlin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Travesty on Scholarship," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1956, pp. 34-35.

³Note, for example, the maps and drawings in Frank Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1958). See also the excellent collection of photographs in John M. Allegro, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday Publishers, 1958).

continues. Numerous caves in the cliffs along the northwest edge of the Dead Sea have been examined, but not all of them have produced manuscripts. As late as February, 1960, new caves were opened along the Israeli sector of the Dead Sea, some forty-three miles south of Wadi Qumran. The results and significance of these recent excavations have not yet been determined, or at least if they have been determined, their significance has not yet been made public.

No archaeological discovery of the past one hundred years has received the acclaim and publicity of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Literally hundreds of articles and books, both professional and popular, have appeared, not to mention numerous journalistic interpretations appearing in newspapers and magazines across the country. The spectacular details of the discovery aroused public interest, but the claims and counterclaims asserted by some denominational propagandists were the cause of unusual excitement. One writer, commenting upon this rash of scroll publicity, said, "The Christians are crazy; the Jews are crazy also. . . . All the world is scroll crazy."⁴ Another lamented,

The sectarians have already gathered on the fragmented carcass like yellow jackets on the picnic ham, striving to carry away such theological delicacies as suit their taste.⁵

Everyone, it seemed, was attempting to strengthen his own theological position. In some instances, lust for proof undoubtedly led to premature and unwarranted conclusions.

Bible scholarship has not been undone by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The experts have not panicked. On the contrary, new insights resulting from scroll studies have been received with enthusiasm. Some earlier theories concerning text families, problems of authorship and date of specific books have been re-examined and several such theories have already been revised. Scholarly views have differed. At times the controversy over particular issues has been intense, but disagreement was to be expected. During the initial stages of interpretation, it would have been unusual, indeed, not to have controversy. The caution on the part of some scholars, the theory and counter theory, the argument and the debate, should not have

⁴R. V. Flewelling, "Sea Scroll Madness," *The Personalist*, October, 1957, p. 341.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 342.

been interpreted as "panic" or "retreat." As A. L. Haberman pointed out, there has never been an important archaeological find in history which has not evoked a controversy.⁶ Already from the exchange of views, significant areas of agreement have been found.

What, then, is the current situation regarding the scroll studies? Have recent interpretations affected Christian theologies? What are scholarly opinions concerning the connection between the Qumran community and the New Testament church? It is time to examine these and other problems, not with the intent to prove a theology, but rather to inform ourselves concerning the latest and the most significant developments in scroll studies.

In this paper I propose (1) to review briefly the story of the scroll discoveries and to survey the contents of the Qumran library; (2) to discuss the people of the scrolls, their identity, origin, and teachings; and (3) to elaborate upon possible historical and theological connections between the Qumran community and the early Christian church.

I

The account of the exploration of the Qumran area, the purchase of fragments from the Bedouin tribesmen, and other details have been reported in numerous publications. It shall be sufficient for our purpose, therefore, to sketch only the high points of the story.⁷

The first scrolls appeared from Cave I in the spring of 1947. Apparently the discovery was accidental; the details are confused and contradictory. It would be impossible at this date to recover the true historical facts, for legend and myth have already entered the picture. Nevertheless, this basic historical outline persists: during the early summer of 1947, Bedouin

⁶A. L. Haberman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls. . . A Survey and New Interpretation," *Judaism*, V (Fall Issue, 1956), pp. 306-315. The discovery of the famous *Codex Sinaiticus* produced similar reactions among scholars of the nineteenth century.

⁷For a more detailed account of the circumstances of discovery see J. M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Penguin Books, 1956), pp. 15-34. Other early accounts appear in the following: M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1955), pp. 3-28; Mar. A. Y. Samuel, "The Purchase of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeologist*, XII (May, 1959), pp. 26-51; John C. Trever, "The Discovery of the Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeologist*, XI (September, 1948), pp. 46-57.

youths, presumably herding goats in the wilderness between Jerusalem and the northwest coast of the Dead Sea, accidentally stumbled upon the cave and its contents. A second version of the story suggests that the discoverers were en route to Bethlehem with contraband merchandise. They had apparently followed a route through this desolate area in order to avoid legal points of entry. In any event, the cave was discovered. Speaking of these circumstances and of the events which followed, Frank Cross, one of the foremost American scholars working with the scrolls, said,

In the year between the Bedouin discovery and the first press releases announcing the discovery to the world, there was confusion, blundering and intrigue. . . . At least one, and probably several clandestine excavations ravaged the cave sites; additional materials came to light; there is evidence that a considerable amount of precious material was destroyed in the process.⁸

Almost a year passed before the manuscript material filtered out from Bedouin hands. The first collection came to the attention of E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University; the second came to light by way of the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan of Jerusalem largely through the efforts of the American School of Oriental Research. On April 11, 1948, first announcements concerning the second lot were made public through the press. Professor Sukenik announced the existence of the Hebrew University collection two weeks later.

Arab-Israeli hostilities delayed official investigation of Cave I from 1948 until the early months of 1949. From January through March of that year, fragments from seventy different manuscripts were recovered from the debris piled outside the cave. Activity ceased momentarily at this date, for many assumed that Cave I was an isolated phenomenon. However, new documents appeared for sale in Jerusalem in the fall of 1951. Then it became obvious that Cave I was not an isolated cache but part of an elaborate pattern. At the same time, it seemed likely that there might be significant connections between the caves, the scrolls, and the ruins located nearby on the Qumran plateau. The location of these ruins had been known to archaeologists as early as 1851 and had been identified as the rem-

⁸Cross, *op cit.*, p. 4.

nants of an ancient Roman fortress. "Slowly," said Cross, a new pattern began to emerge: the scrolls belonged to an ancient people who occupied the caves north and south of Khirbet Qumran, and the ruin was precisely the Essene desert retreat remarked by the Roman historian Pliny.⁹

The stories of subsequent cave and manuscript discoveries are complicated. Between the years 1951 and 1955, no fewer than five campaigns were carried out to excavate the ruins at Qumran. In addition, resources of the American, French, and British schools were combined and systematic exploration, directed chiefly by Lancaster Harding and Roland DeVaux, covered an area five miles in length along the cliffs some hundreds of yards above the Dead Sea. Also, Ta'amireh tribesmen, who had found the digging to be somewhat profitable, continued their patient search in the area of Wadi Murabba'at, approximately twelve miles south of Qumran. Scientific investigation followed through early 1952 both in this area and again among the cliffs adjacent to Qumran. Altogether, more than two hundred and thirty caves were examined. As an aid in classification, caves containing significant artifacts and scroll fragments were assigned numbers II and III. In the summer of 1952 tribesmen worked the marl caves at a lower altitude and discovered Cave IV, which subsequently proved to be the principal cache of the Essene community.¹⁰ Caves V and VI were located in conjunction with Cave IV, and after almost three years of quiet, in the spring of 1955 Caves VII through X were added to the already impressive list of discoveries. Cave XI, which contained materials almost as significant as Caves I and IV, was located still later about a mile to the north.

The library of Qumran was extensive. Some complete manuscripts were recovered, but most of the materials were fragmentary, decayed, and warped. Consequently, they were extremely difficult to handle.¹¹ The bulk of the material was far greater

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁰The marl caves (Caves IV-X) were not natural caves, but were apparently dug by the Qumran settlers for use as living quarters. It is possible, however, that these caves were originally intended to be used as tombs by a much earlier people (9th-6th century B. C.).

¹¹Many of these fragments were purchased from Bedouin tribesmen at the rate of \$2.80 per square centimeter. Donors from many lands, including several universities in this country as well as in Europe, aided in the purchases. By agreement, the manuscript fragments are to remain in the Palestine Archaeologi-

than anyone had anticipated. Therefore, an international, inter-confessional team of eight scholars was assigned the task of analysis, identification, and translation.¹² The following is a survey of the major documents from the Qumran library based largely upon the excellent analysis of Frank Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*:¹³

Cave I - Discovered: Spring, 1947.

Location: In the line of cliffs above Khirbet Qumran and north about two miles.

Contents: Isaiah Scroll.

Commentary on Habakkuk.

Manual of Discipline (A statement of the creed and conduct of the sect).

Fragment copy of Isaiah.

Collection of Thanksgiving Psalms.

The Order of Battle Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

A Genesis Apocryphon.¹⁴

Additional manuscript fragments from Biblical, Apocryphal, and Apocalyptic writings.

Cave II - Discovered: February, 1952.

Location: A few hundred yards south of Cave I in the cliffs above Qumran.

Contents: A few fragments from the Apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus. Also other significant fragments, but minor in number.¹⁵

Cave III - Discovered: March, 1952.

Location: About three fourths of a mile north of Cave I in cliffs at a slightly lower elevation.

Contents: Two highly oxidized copper scrolls supposedly containing an inventory of the community treasures.¹⁶

cal Museum until editing is completed. Then, presumably, they will be released to the various donors.

¹²France was represented by Fathers C. Barthelemy and J. Starcky; England by John Allegro and John Strugnell; Germany by Claus-Hunno Hunzinger; Poland by Father J. T. Milik, and the United States by Monsignor Patrick W. Skehan and Frank M. Cross, Jr.

¹³Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-36.

¹⁴An elaboration of the book of Genesis in Aramaic, mistakenly referred to by the title, *Apocalypse of Lamech*.

¹⁵An article in French which catalogues this material and is available in English translation: M. Baillet, "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran," *Biblical Archaeologist*, XIX (1956), pp. 75-96.

¹⁶The two copper scrolls, though actually one work, were highly oxidized and could not be manipulated on the spot without damaging the inscriptions.

Murabba'at - Discovered: Spring and summer, 1952. Additional materials were found in 1955.

Location: Caves in the vicinity of Wadi Murabba'at at approximately twelve to fifteen miles south of Qumran.¹⁷

Contents: A seventh century B.C. palimpsest script containing a list of names and numbers thought to be the earliest papyrus written in Hebrew ever found in Palestine.

Letters, contracts, and Bible fragments in Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic, some of which were left by the remnants of Bar Kochbah's army in 132-135 A.D.

A second century A.D. scroll of the minor prophets.¹⁸

Cave IV - Discovered: Summer, 1952.

Location: Approximately two hundred yards from the Essene settlement in the marl terrace facing Wadi Qumran.

Contents: Thousands of manuscript fragments.¹⁹

A. Biblical Text Fragments:

Manuscript of Samuel.²⁰

Chronicles.

Numbers.

Three very old manuscripts:

1. Fragments from Samuel (dated ca. 200 B.C.).

2. A section of Jeremiah.

3. Fragments from Exodus.

Five Pentateuchal manuscripts.

Fragments of Job.

Deuteronomy. (14 MSS)²¹

It was not until September of 1955 (three years later) that a workable plan was devised to unroll them. For a description of the technique used and a preliminary survey of the contents see J. M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Penguin Books, 1956), p. 184; also J. T. Milik, "The Copper Document from Cave II, Qumran," *Biblical Archaeologist*, XIX (1956), pp. 60-64.

¹⁷The caves in this area were likely used by refugee and brigand bands in Old Testament times. David may have used some of these caves in his flight from Saul (I Samuel 22:1,2; 26:1 f.).

¹⁸As Frank Cross and others have pointed out, this document contains all of the minor prophets from the middle of Joel to Zechariah. It is probably the most significant manuscript to come to light from this area.

¹⁹By March, 1957, three hundred and eighty-two manuscripts had been identified, one-fourth of which were from Biblical texts.

²⁰This was likely the most significant as well as the best preserved Biblical document in the entire collection. For a detailed discussion see Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.

²¹On the basis of numbers of manuscripts represented by the fragments, it would appear that Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Psalms, and the Book of the Twelve

- Isaiah. (12 MSS)
 - Psalms. (10 MSS)
 - Book of the Twelve Prophets. (8 MSS)
 - B. Fragments from Bible Commentaries:
 - Psalms.
 - Hosea.
 - Isaiah.
 - Nahum.²²
 - C. Fragments from Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Manuscripts:²³
 - Jubilees.
 - Psalms of Joshua.
 - Tobit.
 - Testament of Levi.
 - Testament of Naphtali.
 - Enoch.
 - Apocryphal materials on Daniel.
 - D. Remnants from Specifically Sectarian Works and Curiosities:
 - Recensions of the Manual of Discipline.
 - The Damascus Document.
 - Numerous fragments containing prayers, laws, blessings, hymns, and the wisdom of the sect.
 - Astronomical observations based upon the book of Enoch.
 - Exposition of the Book of Moses.
 - Calendrical works related to the calculations of feast days.
- Caves V, VI - Discovered: Summer, 1952, in conjunction with excavations at Cave IV.
- Location: Cave V - located in the marl terrace just north of Cave IV.
- Cave VI - located above Cave IV near the waterfall of Wadi Qumran.
- Contents: Significant scroll fragments, but minor in quantity.
- Caves VII - X - Discovered: Spring, 1955.
- Location: In the marl terrace near the Qumran site.
- Contents: Water from the plateau and cliffs above collapsed the roofs of these caves and had washed

Prophets were the Old Testament books most important to the Qumran sect.
²²The fact that this work contained references to known historical persons of the Maccabean era established it as a significant document.

²³Pseudepigrapha, "false writings," traditionally included all non-canonical Jewish writings written between ca. 200 B.C. and ca. 100 A.D., with the exception of Philo Judaeus and Josephus, not included in the canon or the Apocrypha.

away the bulk of the scroll manuscripts. Only a few fragments were recovered.

Cave XI - Discovered:

Location: South of Cave III slightly more than two miles north of the Qumran plateau.

Contents: Book of Psalms (almost intact).

Copy of Leviticus.

Fragments from a copy of the "Description of the New Jerusalem."

A Targum of Job.²⁴

II

Who were the people of the scrolls? This question plagued the scholars, and to find the answer they commenced preliminary soundings on the Qumran plateau in November, 1951. Several tombs were opened in a nearby cemetery. Jars of the same type as those found in the caves were located among the fortress ruins, but most interesting were the remnants of several large water cisterns, a community building containing a kitchen, dining hall, workshop, and, most important, a scriptorium with ink stands and writing tables. As excavation proceeded, the connection among the buildings, the cemetery, the caves, and scrolls became clear. This was the site of an ascetic, communal-type, social order.

Khirbet Qumran proved to be the hub of a Hellenistic-Roman occupation, spreading nearly two miles north along the cliffs, and some two miles south to the agricultural complex at En Feskah. The people of this broad settlement lived in caves, tents, and solid constructions, but shared pottery made in a common kiln, read common Biblical and sectarian scrolls, operated a common irrigation system, and, as we shall see, depended on common stores of food and water furnished by the installations of the community center.²⁵

Pottery chronology and radio-carbon dating of cloth fragments, supported by the findings of more than two hundred coins of the period, indicated a three-phase occupation of the settlement:²⁶ (1) The earliest scroll community, built upon the

²⁴The term *Targum* originally meant "translation." It came to be used specifically for Aramaic translations of the Hebrew.

²⁵Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 41. The term *Khirbet* is Arabic for "ruin." The site has been referred to as "Khirbet Qumran."

²⁶For a detailed analysis of the history of the community see James L. Kelso, "The Archaeology of Qumran," *Journal of Biblical Literature* (September, 1956), pp. 141-146; Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-48.

ruins of an old Israelite fortress of the sixth century B.C., was apparently established during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.).²⁷ This settlement continued through the early years of Herod the Great until it was partially destroyed by a severe earthquake (ca. 31 B.C.). It remained abandoned through the duration of Herod's rule (37-4 B.C.).²⁸

(2) The site was re-settled during the reign of Herod's son Archelaus (4 B.C. - 6 A.D.) and continued to prosper relatively unchanged through the ministries of Jesus and John the Baptist, until the dark days of the Jewish-Roman war (66-70 A.D.). The community was destroyed in 68 A.D. after siege by Roman troops led by Vespasian campaigning in the Jericho area.²⁹ Members of the sect were either trapped and destroyed, or else they fled. In either event, they left their library concealed in the caves nearby.

(3) Afterward, the site was remodeled and garrisoned by the Roman troops assigned to control sporadic resistance in the north Dead Sea area. It was abandoned near the turn of the first century, used again briefly by the army of Bar Kochbah in the second Jewish revolt (132-135 A.D.) and finally left desolate until recent excavations in 1951.

Numerous attempts have been made to identify the people of the Qumran community and almost every sect of the period of the Second Temple has been mentioned. Consensus today overwhelmingly favors the Essenes, the Jewish religious sect already partly known to scholarship through the writings of Philo Judaeus, Josephus, and Pliny the Elder.³⁰

The literature from the Dead Sea caves indicates that the Qumran community was part of a general Essene withdrawal into the wilderness.³¹ The presence of female skeletons in the

²⁷Eighty-six coins represented the reign of Alexander Jannaeus; fifteen were from the reign of John Hyrcanus I (134-104 B.C.).

²⁸The earthquake toppled the community tower, dropped the eastern side of the complex and opened a crevasse through the center of the building area. This was undoubtedly the quake reported by Josephus, *War of the Jews*, Book I; *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book XI, wherein thirty thousand men lost their lives.

²⁹Roman iron arrow-heads buried in the walls and blackened debris indicated siege and conflagration.

³⁰Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Books II, III, V; *Antiquities of the Jews*, Books XIII, XV and XVIII. Pliny contains only a brief reference.

³¹A pantry containing hundreds of bowls and dishes and the size of the cemetery located nearby suggested a community from two hundred to four hundred persons. T. H. Gaster, F. Cross, and others have maintained, from refer-

cemetery and at least one reference in the scrolls to women and children suggests to some scholars that strict asceticism was not required.³² The scrolls, however, are somewhat ambiguous on the subject of marriage.

This sect believed that it was the new Israel in the desert, that it was the faithful remnant spoken of by Isaiah.³³ The Mosaic-Exodus motif is clearly evident in their writings. The "Sons of Light" were to be encamped according to the priestly arrangement of Israel's desert encampment described in Numbers.³⁴ The sect maintained that the Mosaic law had been perverted by the Jerusalem priesthood and that it was their destiny to proclaim the correct interpretations of the Law, to preserve the covenant of God's chosen people, and, as a consequence, to guarantee for Israel the continuing guidance of Deity until the end of the age. Note, however, that while the Essenes opposed the Jerusalem culture, rejected its priesthood, its temple rituals and calendar, it was strongly Jewish in general orientation. Though interpreted differently by the sect, the Law remained central, as did priesthood, sacrifice and the concept of the covenant.³⁵

One of the most interesting features of Qumran theology concerns its doctrine of the end of the age. The abundance of apocalyptic expressions among the scrolls, obviously drawn from apocryphal and pseudepigraphical sources was not accidental.³⁶ Apocalyptic literature contained a definitive sense of group destiny which was undoubtedly attractive to the Essenes

ences in Philo, Pliny, and Josephus, that Qumran was but one encampment, though likely the chief encampment, of the Essenes in Palestine.

³²See William S. LaSor, "A Preliminary Reconstruction of Judaism in the Time of the Second Temple in the Light of the Published Qumran Materials," *Abstracts of Dissertations*, University of Southern California, 1956, p. 463. Cross suggests that there may have been two orders of Essenes within the community, one married and secular, and the other, a larger body, priestly and celibate.

³³Isaiah 8:16-18; 19:20-23.

³⁴cf. The Order of Battle 3:21; 4; 11; 7:3-7, and Numbers 2:1-3, 4; 10:17-28.

³⁵The founder of the sect, The Teacher of Righteousness, was himself a priest of the legitimate Zadokite line.

³⁶Apocalyptic literature, widely circulated within the Jewish community in the period 200 B.C. - 100 A.D., but largely rejected from the canon by normative Judaism, strongly reflected a psychology of crisis and tension. Expectation of a cataclysmic, revolutionary end of the age, cast in vivid and visionary figures, was characteristic of this literature.

at a time when historical events suggested a negation of the whole of Jewish theology. They believed that the end was imminent, that during the final stage a mighty battle would be fought between the forces of good and evil and that ultimately this world and evil would be destroyed. It was not strange, therefore, that the document *Order of Battle for the Sons of Light* should appear.

To men who believed that the Final Age was indeed at hand, preparations for this war were a matter of imminent and urgent concern. They had to have a detailed Plan of Campaign. *The War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness* is such a plan—a kind of G. H. Q. manual for the guidance of the Brotherhood at 'Armageddon.'³⁷

III

The importance of the scrolls for Old Testament, New Testament, and Jewish studies can hardly be overestimated: fragments have been identified from every book of the Old Testament canon with the exception of Esther. Sir Frederick Kenyon's classical declaration, that Hebrew texts older than the Masoretic would never be found, has been invalidated. Some Old Testament materials of the Dead Sea Scrolls predate the Masoretic by at least eight or nine hundred years.³⁸ Also, variations from this standard text in fragments from the book of Samuel proved to be startling in that they appeared to follow the Greek version, *i.e.*, the Septuagint, rather than the Masoretic. This discovery has reopened the issue of the significance of the Septuagint, since it points to the existence of a different and possibly older Hebrew text than the one finally adopted by the Jews.³⁹

The problem of the Scrolls and the New Testament has been the catalyst responsible for the wide interest in the Qumran discoveries. It is as a potential threat to Christianity, its claims, and its doctrines that the Scrolls have caught the imagination of the laymen and clergy.⁴⁰

What then, *is* the relevance of the Qumran community for

³⁷Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

³⁸Sir Frederick Kenyon, as quoted by Allegro, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

³⁹The term *Masoretic* (from the Hebrew *Masorah*, "tradition") refers to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament established as the Standard or Accepted Text by the Jewish scribes (Masoretes) in the period 600 A.D. - 1000 A.D.

⁴⁰Krister Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1957), p. 1.

the Christian church and the New Testament? Do the scrolls establish historical connections between the two religious communities and, if so, to what extent did the early Christian church rely upon Essene theology and practices? It is to this and to related problems that we now turn our attention.

It has been generally conceded among New Testament scholars that Pharisaic Judaism represented the Jewish norm during the formative period in Christian history, that Pharisaic Judaism was the one central stream through which the Old Testament heritage was transmitted. But does this assumption oversimplify the actual historical situation? Have peripheral Jewish elements from a broader Jewish milieu been overlooked? Two aspects of early Christian life and practice, its communal life reflected in Acts and its end-of-the-age motif, for example, obviously did not originate in normative Judaism.⁴¹ It might be explained that these emphases were original to Christianity. It is interesting, however, that communal life and the apocalyptic view were strongly characteristic of the Essene community at Qumran, whose members lived under a communal order, sharing kitchen quarters, treasures, and clothing. Their library was unusual for its collection of apocalyptic literature. Commenting upon this phenomenon, Frank Cross says, "The Essenes proved to be the bearers, and in no small part the producers of the apocalyptic tradition in Judaism."⁴²

Two conclusions, therefore, seem to be borne out by the evidence: (1) That there was in the first century of the Christian era a broader complex of Jewish belief and practice than that which was prescribed by Pharisaic Judaism; and (2) the Christian church in some particulars stood closer to Jewish heretical sects than to normative Judaism. It may be, as Cross suggests, that the church was a continuation of the communal and apocalyptic tradition of the Qumran sect. According to Oscar Cullmann,

There had to be some link between early Christianity and the somewhat esoteric late Jewish Enoch literature. For the form of Messianic hope, in which the expectation of the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven replaces the Jewish national expectation of a Jewish Messiah, is found only on the

⁴¹Acts 2:44 f; 4:34-35.

⁴²Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

fringe of Judaism, especially in the Enoch literature; and this form of Messianic hope is the one to which the Gospels testify.

But until now, we have lacked the outer frame of reference within which it would be possible to conceive of a connection between primitive Christianity and this specially slanted sort of Judaism. Does the Essene sect, now better known, offer us this frame of reference?⁴³

Let us now examine a number of specific parallels between the two groups.

The Name. This is perhaps a minor point; nevertheless, it contributes to the total perspective. The Qumran community referred to itself as "The New Covenant," a term which immediately reminds one of the name "New Testament" in Christian literature. Both groups were followers of "The Way," although its connotations as a specific discipline undoubtedly differed.⁴⁴

The Organization. The Essenes appeared to have been a lay as well as a priestly organization. Priests regulated cultic affairs of the sect, but laymen apparently directed common religious practices as well as the secular life of the community. Mature members of the group constituted an over-all governing body or assembly called the *Rabbim*, "many." A similar council or assembly functioned in the early Christian church.⁴⁵

A special body consisting of twelve laymen and three priests functioned as a higher judicatory within the congregation. These men were schooled to "perfection in the Law" with the special assignment to set the standard "for the practice of truth, righteousness and justice."⁴⁶ The twelve and the three, Cross suggested, were types of the twelve tribes of ancient Israel and the three clans of Levi.⁴⁷ Also, in the hierarchy of officials was an overseer, with status comparable to that of high priest. He was the actual head of the assembly, the director of labor, and the teacher and examiner of the novices. Parallels with the "twelve" in Acts are significant, but attempts to associate the three priests with the inner circle of three (Peter, James, and John) and to claim connection between the "overseer" and the Christian bishop cannot be maintained with any degree of

⁴³Stendahl, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴⁴Acts 22:4; 24:14, 22.

⁴⁵Acts 15:12, 6:2, 5.

⁴⁶*Manual of Discipline* 8:1-19.

⁴⁷Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 175.

certainty from the *Manual of Discipline*.⁸⁸ It would be difficult to claim Christian dependence upon the Essenes in all of these particulars. There was ample precedent for such organization in the Old Testament, particularly from Jewish literature reflecting the Mosaic era.

Central "Ordinances." Two ordinances appear to have been basic to the Essene community at Qumran: baptism and the communal meal. The presence of several cisterns for water among the ruins suggested the significance of ablutions for the sect. References in the scroll texts support this contention. For the Essenes, Jewish society generally had become defiled. Baptism, preceded by two years of probation and repentance, was required of all initiates as a mark of ceremonial and moral cleanliness. It is significant to note, however, that ablutions were not sufficient for expurgation of all iniquities.

He cannot be cleared by mere ceremonies of atonement, nor cleansed by any waters of ablution, nor sanctified by immersion in lakes or rivers, nor purified by any bath. Unclean, unclean he remains so long as he rejects the government of God and refuses the discipline of communion with him Only by a spirit of uprightness and humility can his sin be atoned Only by the submission of his soul to all of the ordinances of God can his flesh be made clean.⁸⁹

John's baptism and his indictment of the Jews for their corruption are strikingly parallel.

You brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bear fruit that befits repentance, and do not presume to say to yourselves, "We have Abraham as our fathers."⁹⁰

There seems to be no doubt that the Qumran Essenes attached special cult meaning to the communal meal.

And at every place where there are ten men of the Council of the community there shall also be a priest, and each is to set before him according to his own rank . . . And when the table is prepared for eating or wine for drinking, the

⁸⁸The Damascus Document is the chief source on the overseer, *mebagger*. "In the Qumran Manual, taken by itself, the *mebagger* is not sufficient to justify such a comparison," from B. O. Reicke, "The Constitution of the Primitive Church in the Light of Jewish Documents," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 10 (1954), pp. 95-113, as translated in Stendahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-156.

⁸⁹*Manual of Discipline* 3:3-12.

⁹⁰Matthew 3:7-9.

priest shall first raise his hand so that the first portion of the wine be blessed.⁵¹

This may appear to be nothing more than a recitation of a few rites of conduct, Emily Post style, including proper respect for ecclesiastical superiors. The adjuncts to the *Manual of Discipline*, however, clearly point to a ritual meal anticipating the Messianic banquet at the end of the age.⁵² Karl Kuhn is of the opinion that each communal meal was preceded by a bath of purification, but his reconstruction cannot be sustained without the additional evidence from Josephus.⁵³

There are remarkable similarities between the cult ritual and the New Testament accounts of Jesus' last meal with the twelve, particularly if it is true, as Kuhn suggests, that the earlier Christian communal meal was, in fact, a complete meal eaten daily in anticipation of the Second Coming. The church, Kuhn concludes, later eliminated the complete aspect of the meal and limited celebration to the Sabbath.⁵⁴

Common Theological Language. Very early in scroll research, points of contact between the Gospel of John and Essene concepts and terminology were noted. A modified dualistic orientation is prevalent in both John and the Essene documents involving a struggle between two opposing principles: light and truth versus darkness and evil. The phraseology is similar: such expressions as "light of life," "sons of light," "life eternal," and "spirit of truth," all familiar to the reader of the Fourth Gospel, are also available in Essene diction, as is the unusual emphasis given the symbols, "water," and "light."⁵⁵ Similarly, an esoteric, Gnostic-like treatment of revelation and knowledge also appears in Qumran thought.⁵⁶ The gift of revelation, for example, was not made known through the flesh, but through the spirit. Knowledge was revealed and be-

⁵¹*Manual of Discipline* 6:1-6.

⁵²Adjuncts to the Rule of the Community, 2:17-22, published by D. Barthélemy, J. T. Milik, et. al., *Qumran Cave I. "Discoveries in the Judean Desert" 1* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 111 ff.

⁵³Karl G. Kuhn, "Über den ursprünglichen Sinn des Abendmahles und sein Verhältnis zu den Gemeinschaftsmahlen der Sektenschrift," *Evangelische Theologie* 10 (1950/51), pp. 508-27, translated and revised in Stendahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-93.

⁵⁴Stendahl, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁵⁵cf. John 1:7-9; 3:15, 16, 21; 8:12; 12:36.

⁵⁶For a discussion of "Knowledge" in the scrolls see W. D. Davies,

longed to the community. Wicked Jews, however, operated only at the level of the physical and the literal. The parallels with John are readily discernible.

All of this points to a re-evaluation of the arguments for the date and origin of the Fourth Gospel. Many of the concepts and terms judged to be Greek in background and, therefore, late, now may be identified with earlier Jewish sources. Evidence to date is not conclusive, but the possibilities for a fresh approach are encouraging.

To this point we have dealt primarily with the parallels and we have noted some correspondence in institutional or organizational forms and ordinances, as well as similarities in theological language and concepts. I should like to point out—as some apologists have failed to do—that there were also significant differences between the Qumran community and the New Testament church.

1. Both groups lived in anticipation of the end of the age; in both, the figure of a Messiah was a prominent characteristic. However, for the Christian, that Messianic figure had been identified as Jesus. Such identification constituted a major theological break between the two groups. Observe, particularly in Paul's letters to the Galatians and to the Romans, how the legal and priestly framework of Judaism was completely transcended through the mission of Christ. For Paul, the Cross brought freedom from the Law. There seems to be no attempt on his part, as in Qumran, to preserve the sacrificial system and the Law or to return to the Temple. Galatians has long been accepted as the Christian declaration of independence from Judaism—including the Essene brand of Judaism. Granted, there were parallels in concepts and terminology, but the Christian focus on Jesus as the Son of Man, as the Heavenly Christ, produced a theological orientation markedly different from the doctrines developed by the Essenes.

2. While the Christian communal meal and its initiatory rites of baptism indicated certain possible points of contact with the Qumran sect, opposing emphases were rather prominent. For the Essenes, only initiates who had proved themselves for two years could participate in the meal. Moreover, the physically

"'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Mt. 11:25-30," *Harvard Theological Review*, 46 (1953), pp. 113-129.

disabled, the maimed, and the blind were probably excluded from the rite. Such exclusiveness was not characteristic of Jesus. His mission concerned the healing of the sick and the gathering of the poor and the sinners. In addition, the Essenes seem to have been extremely sensitive about ecclesiastical rank. They sat at table, ate, and spoke according to prescribed rules of status.⁵⁷ In contrast, Jesus broke with all such legal formalities. He rebuked his disciples for their eagerness to be first and greatest.⁵⁸ He taught meekness and modesty. He denounced the scribes and Pharisees for their love of the places of honor at feasts and for their concern for the best seats in the synagogues.⁵⁹

In addition, note the requirement of a two year probation before baptism and the possibility that the Essenes re-baptized in connection with their annual renewal of the covenant; also, consider Kuhn's suggestion that members were required a daily ablution in preparation for the communal meal.⁶⁰

3. The most convincing evidence for the uniqueness of Christianity in contrast with the Qumran sect concerns the spirit of Jesus' teaching.

You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I say to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you . . . For if you love those who love you, what reward have you?⁶¹

Love, even for one's enemies, was basic in the message of Jesus. Compare this emphasis with statements from the *Manual of Discipline*:

It is the duty of members . . . to love whom God has elected, and to hate everyone whom he has rejected; . . . to hate all of the sons of darkness . . . lift their voices and speak, 'Cursed art thou.'⁶²

And these are the regulations of conduct for every man that would seek the inner vision in these times, touching what he is to love and what he is to hate.

He is to bear unremitting hatred towards all men of ill repute, and to be minded to keep in seclusion from them.⁶³

⁵⁷*Manual of Discipline* 6:1-8.

⁵⁸Matthew 20:26-28; 23:11, 12.

⁵⁹The Parable of the Chief Seats, Luke 14:1-24; also, Matthew 23:5.

⁶⁰Stendahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68.

⁶¹Matthew 5:43, 44, 46.

⁶²*Manual of Discipline* 1:4, 10; 2:4.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 9:21-23.

Nowhere are Jesus and the Essenes more sharply contrasted. The spirit of the two is diametrically opposed.

Were Jesus and John the Baptist members of the Qumran sect? It seems entirely possible that both of these New Testament figures were familiar with the practices of the Essenes and knew of their teachings. But, while there seem to be some points of contact between them, there is ample evidence that Jesus was opposed to their narrow exclusiveness, to their legal and priestly approach to the Law, to their excessive other-worldly views, and to their calculated and militaristic hatred of their enemies. While the evidence for John's identification with the Essenes at Qumran is inconclusive, there is no evidence whatever that Jesus was associated with this sect.

Thus Jesus by no means followed Essene thought in all and every particular, but on the contrary he sometimes taught and acted in diametrical opposition to it. He is also distinguished from the Essenes by the fact that he decisively rejected all excessive features Whenever the meaning of the rule had been perverted into its opposite by the Essenes' eschatological yearning, as in the case of the tightening of the Sabbath regulations, Jesus' words and deeds provided the sharpest rejection.⁶⁴

In summary, then, what is to be said for the scrolls?

1. They have been tremendously important for Old Testament, New Testament and Jewish studies. To date the major contributions, however, remain in the area of strict scholastic research: text studies, studies in the change of language, in historical connections and cultural settings. No specific theology has been proved.

2. There seems to be ample evidence that the stage for the early Christian drama involved peripheral Jewish elements as well as the central stream represented by Pharisaic Judaism. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the Essenes *were* a Jewish sect. They were not Christians.

3. Certain correlation between the Christian church and the Qumran community may be noted, particularly in organiza-

⁶⁴Kurt Schubert, "The Sermon on the Mount" trans. from *Theologische Quartalschrift* 135 (1955), pp. 32-327 in Stendahl, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

tion, some ordinances and theological language and concepts. However, the Christology of Paul, faith in Christ as the Messiah, and the centrality of love in the teachings of Jesus, sharply delineate the Christian gospel. Whatever is claimed for the Essenes as the prototype of Christianity, it most certainly must remain clear that the spirit of Jesus' teachings and the vitality of the early Christian church were not derived from the *Manual of Discipline*.

Joseph Smith and the West

HYRUM L. ANDRUS

"I did not devise the great scheme of the Lord's opening the way to send this people to these mountains. Joseph Smith contemplated the move for years before it took place, but he could not get here."¹ So spoke Brigham Young of the Prophet Joseph Smith's vision of the West, a vision that occupied the Mormon leader's mind as early as 1830. Before Joseph Smith moved Church headquarters from New York to Ohio, he declared that the Saints would colonize the West as part of the work of building up the New Jerusalem.

The Mormon view of colonizing the West was directly correlated with the effort the Saints made to build their New Jerusalem. While the *Book of Mormon* revealed that the city of Zion was to be established upon the western hemisphere,² the precise location of the New Jerusalem was not immediately made known. In September, 1830, a revelation declared that it would "be on the border by the Lamanites"—the western border of the United States, near Indian Territory.³ That same revelation spoke of certain brethren going on a mission among the Indians, or Lamanites. When this mission—consisting of Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Richard Ziba Peterson—started westward from Fayette, New York, the following month, they went to preach the Gospel and to "rear up a pillar as a witness where the temple of God shall be built, in the glorious New Jerusalem."⁴

The Lamanite Mission had more success among certain sympathetic sectarians in Ohio than among the Indians, and several people in the vicinity of Kirtland were converted. Among them was Sidney Rigdon, who, after his conversion,

Dr. Andrus is associate professor of religion and social science at Brigham Young University.

¹*Journal of Discourses*, IV, 41. Hereafter abbreviated J. D.

²See III Nephi 21; *Ether* 13.

³*Doctrine and Covenants* 28:9. Hereafter abbreviated D. & C.

⁴*Journal History*, October, 1830. Hereafter abbreviated J.H. Said the *Painesville Telegraph*, November 16, 1830, "Some persons came along here last week with a Golden Bible. One of them, Cowdery, declared he had seen and conversed with angels. He was bound on a divine mission to regions beyond the Mississippi where he contemplated founding a City of Refuge."

went to see Joseph Smith, in New York. Upon Rigdon's arrival with the details of the conversion that had occurred, the Prophet sent John Whitmer to preside over the new churches in Ohio. In a letter of introduction, Sidney Rigdon also wrote to his fellow converts of the extensive area the Saints would occupy when the New Jerusalem was established; and at the same time, he turned their thoughts toward the West when he said, "The Lord has made known unto us some of the great things which he has laid up for those that love him, among which the fact, a glory of wonders it is, that you are living on the land of promise and that there (at Kirtland) is the place of gathering *and from that place to the Pacific Ocean he has given it to us and our children.*"⁵

The *Painesville Telegraph*, Painesville, Ohio, January 18, 1831, gave an early commentary on the Prophet's vision of the West, as it reported John Whitmer's arrival in that area, stating, "The more important part of the mission was to inform the brethren that the boundaries of the promised land, or the New Jerusalem, had just been made known to Smith from God—the township of Kirtland, a few miles west of this is the eastern line *and the Pacific Ocean is the western line*; if the north and south lines have been described, we have not learned them."⁶ A revelation in March, 1831, also expressed Mormonism's westward view when it declared:

Before the great day of the Lord shall come, Jacob [i.e. latter-day Israel, including the Latter-day Saints] shall flourish *in the wilderness* [i.e. in barren places] and the Lamanites shall blossom as the rose. *Zion shall flourish upon the hills and rejoice upon the mountain*, and shall be assembled together unto the place which I have appointed.⁷

In January, 1831, another revelation likewise declared that Zion was to "rejoice upon the hills and flourish";⁸ and yet another stated: "I, the Lord, have made my church in these last days like a judge sitting on a hill, or in a high place, to judge

⁵Daniel P. Kidder, *Mormonism and Mormons*, pp. 77-79. (Italics by the writer.)

⁶Italics by the writer.

⁷D. & C. 49:24-25.

⁸*Ibid.*, 39-13.

the nations."⁹ According to Wilford Woodruff, the Prophet made his own commentary on the eventual colonization of the Rocky Mountain area by the Saints, April 26, 1834, when he declared to a group in Kirtland, Ohio:

I want to say to you before the Lord, that you know no more concerning the destinies of this Church and Kingdom than a babe upon its mother's lap. You don't comprehend it. It is only a little handful of Priesthood you see here tonight, but this Church will fill North and South America—it will fill the world. It will fill the Rocky Mountains. There will be tens of thousands of Latter-day Saints who will be gathered in the Rocky Mountains and there they will open the door for the establishing of the Gospel among the Lamanites. . . . This people will go into the Rocky Mountains; they will there build temples to the Most High. They will raise up a posterity there, and the Latter-day Saints who dwell in these mountains will stand in the flesh until the coming of the Son of Man. The Son of Man will come to them while in the Rocky Mountains.¹⁰

The vision of the West continued to fill the mind of the Prophet and his associates. In April, 1836, Erastus Snow was given a blessing "predicting that he should yet be employed in the ministry west of the Rocky Mountains, and should there

⁹*Ibid.*, 64:37 ff. In commenting upon these statements in 1853, Orson Pratt said:

Thus we see that twenty-two years ago, it was foretold in great plainness that Zion should flourish and rejoice upon the hills and mountains: when these prophecies were given, we did not know, for many years, how nor when the Lord intended to fulfill them; but fifteen years after the predictions, the Lord suffered our enemies to rise against us and we were driven by the force of arms from those States, and were obliged to flee to the mountains for refuge; thus, in an unexpected manner, Zion is placed in her appropriate position, and is truly beginning to flourish and rejoice upon the hills and mountains, according to the predictions of Joseph the Prophet, and according to many predictions of the ancient prophets.—*The Seer*, I (January, 1853), 6-7.

Joseph F. Smith also made reference to the same subject and inquired:

Who, let me ask, unless he was inspired of the Lord, speaking by the gift and power of God, at that remote period of the Church's history, when our numbers were few, when we had no influence, name or standing in the world—who, I would ask, under the circumstances in which we were placed when this prediction was made, could have uttered such words unless God inspired him? Zion is, indeed, flourishing on the hills, and is rejoicing on the mountains, and we who compose it are gathering and assembling together unto the place appointed . . . If there were no other prophecy uttered by Joseph Smith, fulfillment of which could be pointed to, this alone would be sufficient to entitle him to the claim of being a true prophet.—J.D., XXV, 97-98.

¹⁰*Conference Report*, April 8, 1898, p. 57.

perform a good work in teaching and leading the Lamanites west of the Rocky Mountains."¹¹ Lorenzo Dow Young also received a blessing that same year under the hands of Hyrum Smith and others, of which he said:

Brother Hyrum Smith led. The Spirit rested mightily upon him and he was full of blessing and prophecy. He said that I should regain my health, live to go with the Saints into the bosom of the Rocky Mountains to build up a place there.¹²

From the time the Saints were driven from Missouri, Joseph Smith began laying plans for a great exodus to the Rocky Mountains. This fact is evident from a statement made by Luman Shurtliff, as he entered the Great Basin in 1851:

We got into the Salt Lake Valley, September 23, 1851, thankful to the God of Heaven that I and my family were in the valley of the Rocky Mountains—here where the Prophet Joseph Smith had said thirteen years before [in 1838] that the Saints would go if the government did not put a stop to the mobbing and the persecuting of them.¹³

In a public meeting, April 26, 1846, as the exodus got underway, Orson Pratt referred to the Prophet's early plans to organize a pioneer company to explore the West and find a location for the Saints:

... it is eight years today since we all came out of Missouri. Before that time Joseph the Prophet had this move in contemplation and always said that we would send a company of young men to explore the country and return before the families can go over the mountains; and it is decidedly my mind to do so.¹⁴

In a very real way the pioneer company that spearheaded the exodus, in 1847, had its origin in the inspiration given to Joseph Smith several years before. Lyman Wight corroborated Pratt's testimony, in a letter to Wilford Woodruff, stating that "such a mission was even talked of while in [Liberty] jail."¹⁵

¹¹"Autobiography of Erastus Snow," dictated to his son, Franklin R. Snow. Quoted in Joseph William Olsen, "Biography of Erastus Snow," unpublished master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1935, p. 19.

¹²James Amasa Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1946), 46.

¹³"Biographical Sketch of the Life of Luman Andros Shurtliff, 1807-1864," under date. Taken from his personal journal, a copy of which is on file in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁴"Diary of John D. Lee, 1844, 1846, 1850-1851," under the above date. Typewritten copy in Brigham Young University Library. (Italics by the writer.)

¹⁵Letter written by Lyman Wight to Wilford Woodruff, dated August 24,

From the evidence at hand it is apparent that Joseph Smith and others were aware that their stay at Nauvoo, Illinois, would be brief. As Heber C. Kimball and others were crossing the Mississippi River to Nauvoo, in 1839, Kimball looked upon the site of the new city and said, "It is a very pretty place, but not a long abiding place for the Saints."¹⁶ In October, 1840, Wilford Woodruff reflected upon the situation of the Saints, while in England, and reported, "My mind was troubled, for the Spirit manifested unto me much discomfort and persecution among the Saints throughout Europe and America, and that many will fall away; also that the powers that be in America will rise up against the Church and it will be driven."¹⁷ During that same year the Prophet's father, Patriarch Joseph Smith, Sr., informed the family of William Huntington, Sr., that the Saints would be in Nauvoo but seven years. "The Lord has told Joseph so," he declared; and after the Saints left Nauvoo they would "go into the Rocky Mountains, right into the midst of the Lamanites."¹⁸

The attitude of the Saints at this time was expressed very well by Wilford Woodruff when he wrote in his *Journal*, "Notwithstanding the Saints are driven from city to city and from place to place, they are determined to build a city wherever their lot is cast, showing themselves to be industrious and insistent in maintaining the Kingdom of God."¹⁹ The following day he reported meeting many old friends from Missouri, and of them said: "They generally felt well and were not discouraged, but felt to trust in God. The Saints felt determined to build up a city wherever they went."²⁰ Oliver B. Huntington registered similar sentiments when he reported:

Joseph finally led us to Nauvoo.

Well, and how can we build a Zion here? This is not Missouri.

1857, at Mountain Valley, Texas. Letter on file in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. Wight was with Joseph Smith in Liberty Jail.

¹⁶Helen Mar Whitney, *Woman's Exponent*, Salt Lake City, IX (July 1, 1880), 18.

¹⁷Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff*, (Salt Lake City, 1909), p. 153.

¹⁸"Diary of Oliver B. Huntington, 1847-1900," Typewritten copy in Brigham Young University Library, Part II, 210; *Young Woman's Journal*, II, 314-315.

¹⁹J. H., May 18, 1839.

²⁰*Ibid.*, May 19, 1839.

Under Joseph's all-inspiring wonder we quickly resolved that "We would stay here as long as Joseph wants us to—he knows what is best," so we then set to with all our mights to do just what the Prophet Joseph directed and in a few months there was quite a town built up out of as near nothing as God ever made anything.²¹

It was out of this background that Joseph Smith gave utterance to his most detailed prophecy on the exodus west. Under date of August 6, 1842, he reported in his *Journal* that he had crossed the Mississippi to Montrose, Iowa, with others, to witness the installation of certain officers of the Rising Sun Lodge, of the Masonic Order. Said he:

While the Deputy Grand-Master was engaged in giving the requisite instructions to the Master-Elect, I had a conversation with a number of brethren in the shade of the building on the subject of our persecutions in Missouri and the constant annoyance which has followed us since we were driven from that state. I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements, and build cities, and see the Saints become a mighty people, in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.²²

Anson Call was present and added further details pertaining to this prophecy in the following statement:

I had before seen him in a vision and now saw while he was talking his countenance change to white; not the deadly white of a bloodless face, but a living brilliant white. He seemed absorbed in gazing at something at a great distance, and said: "I am gazing upon the valleys of those mountains." This was followed by a vivid description of the scenery of these mountains, as I have since become acquainted with it. Pointing to Shadrach Roundy and others, he said: "There are

²¹*Young Woman's Journal*, II, 314-315. Brigham Young expressed a common attitude among the saints when he said:

If I knew that I was going to burn all my buildings next season, it would not hinder me for one hour from making improvements. The more I do, the more I shall be prepared to do. And I am determined to prepare to lay up the walls of Zion and to learn all I can, so that, if I should happen to be one of the men to engage in that work, I shall know how to commence and dictate the foundation of the walls of Zion and those of the Temple.—L.D., V, 170.

²²*History of the Church*, V, 85-86.

some men here who shall do a great work in that land." Pointing to me, he said: "There is Anson, he shall go and shall assist in building up cities from one end of the country to the other, and you (rather extending the idea to all those he had spoken of) shall perform as great a work as has been done by man, so that the nations of the earth shall be astonished, and many of them will be gathered in that land and assist in building cities and temples, and Israel shall be made to rejoice."

It is impossible to represent in words this scene which is still vivid in my mind of the grandeur of Joseph's appearance, his beautiful descriptions of this land and his wonderful prophetic utterances as they emanated from that glorious inspiration that overshadowed him. There was a force and power in his exclamations of which the following is but a faint echo: "Oh the beauty of those snow-capped mountains! The cool refreshing streams that are running down through those mountain gorges!" Then, gazing in another direction, as if there was a change in locality: "Oh the scenes that this people will pass through! The dead that will lay between here and there!" Then, turning in another direction as if the scene had again changed; "Oh the apostasy that will take place before my brethren reach that land!" "But," he continued, "the priesthood shall prevail over all its enemies, triumph over the devil and be established upon the earth never more to be thrown down!" He then charged us with great force and power, to be faithful in those things that had been and should be committed to our charge, with the promise of all the blessings that the priesthood could bestow. "Remember these things and treasure them up. Amen."²³

In the closing months of his life, Joseph Smith spent "many hours" conversing about the West. Said he: "If I were only in the Rocky Mountains with a hundred faithful men, I would then be happy, and ask no odds of mobocrats."²⁴ In a letter to Brigham Young, April 8, 1845, Governor Thomas Ford reported having had a conversation with the Prophet on the subject. Said Ford, "I was informed by General Joseph Smith, last summer, that he contemplated a removal west; and from what I learned from him and others at the time, I think if he had lived, he would have begun to move in the matter before this time."²⁵

²³Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Northern Utah and Southern Idaho: Biographical Supplement*, pp. 271-272.

²⁴J. D., XI, 16.

²⁵J. H., under date.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the great arid regions of the West were but little understood by men east of the Mississippi. In referring to this vast region, they usually spoke in generalities. Information on specific areas was not readily available, so that the Great Salt Lake Basin might be referred to as part of Upper California or as part of the Oregon Territory. According to Joseph Smith, the Saints were to build up cities "from one end of the country to the other."²⁶ But he did not say immediately where their headquarters would be located. This point was not made clear until he and his associates had studied the problem for some time and had considered various alternatives.

An anti-Mormon convention of rabid and radical elements, held at Carthage, Illinois, February 17, 1844, stimulated the Prophet to set the machinery in operation for actually planning and carrying out the exodus. Three days later he "instructed the Twelve Apostles to send out a delegation and investigate the locations of California and Oregon, and hunt out a good location, where we can remove to after the temple is completed."²⁷ The following day the matter was again discussed;²⁸ and of a meeting held February 23rd, the Prophet wrote:

Met with the Twelve in the assembly room concerning the Oregon and California Exploring Expedition; Hyrum and Sidney present. I told them I wanted an exploration of all that mountain country. Perhaps it would be best to go directly to Sante Fe.²⁹

The expedition was to consist of twenty-five humble and prayerful men who could "raise \$500, a good horse and mule, a double-barrel gun, one-barrel rifle, and another smooth bore, a saddle and bridle, a pair of revolving pistols, bowie-knife, and a good sabre."³⁰ So certain was the Prophet that the Saints

²⁶Tullidge, *op. cit.*

²⁷*History of the Church*, VI, 222.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 223. Under date of February 21, 1844, Wilford Woodruff wrote:

I met with the Quorum of the Twelve at Joseph's store, and according to Joseph's counsel a company was selected to go on an exploring expedition to California, and to select a place for the building of a city. Jonathan Dunham, Daniel Fullmer, Phineas Young, Samuel W. Richards and several others were named for the expedition—Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 224.

³⁰*Ibid.*

would be in the West in a short time that he "prophesied that within five years" the Saints would be out of the power of their enemies, "whether they were apostates or of the world."³¹

For a time Joseph Smith was persuaded to look toward Texas for a possible location for at least some of the Saints. As a newly founded republic, Texas was anxious to have strong groups of colonists settle the vast uninhabited regions over which she claimed jurisdiction, including the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande Rivers. Meanwhile, a group the Prophet had sent to Wisconsin territory to get out lumber for the Temple and the Nauvoo House wrote, proposing that upon completion of their task they remove to "the tablelands of Texas." There they would establish "a place of gathering for all the South and maintain a missionary terminal whence the Gospel might be spread throughout Texas, Brazil, the West Indies, and adjacent areas."³²

When George Miller arrived in Nauvoo with the suggestion from the men in the "Pinerias," Joseph Smith commented, "I perceive that the Spirit of God is in the pinerias as well as here, and we will call together some of our wise men, and proceed to set up the Kingdom of God by organizing some of its officers."³³

The organization the Prophet then formulated, March 11, 1844, he referred to as a *Special Council*,³⁴ and later as the *General Council*.³⁵ Because of the number who initially held membership therein, it was also known as the Council of Fifty. The General Council was essentially a political body, purporting to be the nucleus council of the municipal department of the Kingdom of God. Its immediate responsibilities included the task of planning for and carrying out the exodus of the Saints, and of establishing them in the West under a government subject to the United States Constitution. In his *Journal*, Brigham Young explained:

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 225.

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 256-258.

³³George Miller, Sr., and George Miller, Jr., *A Mormon Bishop and His Son, Fragments of a Diary kept by George Miller, Sr., Bishop in the Mormon Church, and some records of incidents in the life of the G. Miller, Jr., Hunter and Pathfinder*, ed. H. M. Mills (London, England, nd.), p. 48.

³⁴See *History of the Church*, VI, 260-61, 263, 264.

³⁵See *ibid.*, pp. 274, 343, 356, etc.

Joseph commenced the organization of a Council for the purpose of taking into consideration the necessary steps to obtain redress for the wrongs which had been inflicted upon us by our persecutors, and also the best manner to settle our people in some distant and unoccupied territory; where we could enjoy our civil and religious rights, without being subject to constant oppression and mobocracy, under the protection of our laws, subject to the Constitution.

The Council was composed of about fifty members, several of whom were not members of the Church.

We prepared several memorials to Congress for redress of grievances, and used every available means to inform ourselves of the unoccupied territory open to settlers.

We held a number of sessions, and investigated the principles upon which our national government is founded; and the true foundation and principles of all governments.

Joseph Smith was appointed chairman, William Clayton, clerk, and Willard Richards, historian of the Council.³⁶

The desire expressed by the brethren in Wisconsin apparently was not inconsistent with the Prophet's view of colonizing the West at that time, as he immediately commenced negotiations with Texas for an extensive strip of land between the Nueces and the Rio Grande Rivers. And under date of May 3, 1844, Brigham Young and Willard Richards wrote from Nauvoo to Reuben Hedlock, in England, stating, "If any of the brethren wish to go to Texas, we have no particular objection. You may send a hundred thousand there if you can."³⁷

Negotiations with Texas were exploratory. It was first proposed that a stake of Zion be established there, but evidently there was also some talk of moving the Church to that area.³⁸ However, such proposals did not prevent the Prophet from considering other alternatives. At the time negotiations with Texas were going on, he memorialized the Federal Government of the United States for authority to raise a police force

³⁶"History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star*, XXVI, 328-329. For evidence that the General Council and The Council of Fifty were the same body, see Willard Richards's *Journal*, March 22, 25, 1845; April 15, 22, 29, 1845, etc., and compare with meeting dates of the General Council, as reported in the *History of the Church*. Original *Journal* of Willard Richards is on file in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 345.

³⁸For further information on this subject, see Hyrum L. Andrus, *Joseph Smith and World Government* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), Chapter II.

of 100,000 men to establish the jurisdiction of the United States throughout the West and to give protection and order to the work of colonization.³⁹ Here was an intelligent proposal of great magnitude. Had it been adopted, the lawlessness of the early West could largely have been minimized; and the Saints would immediately have ceased considering settling in the area of Texas.

Meanwhile, the Prophet sent representatives to Washington, D.C., to study the westward move from that point of vantage and to work in behalf of the Saints. Heber C. Kimball wrote to his wife, June 12, 1844, that he and Lyman Wight had presented a petition requesting the Federal Government "to give us some land somewhere in the world, either in Texas, Arizona, or Iowa."⁴⁰

Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, and John E. Page were also in the nation's capital in the spring of 1844. About the middle of May, 1844, the Prophet received two letters from Hyde. In one he reported an interview with Senator Stephen A. Douglas and said, "He is ripe for Oregon and the California." Hyde also quoted the Little Giant as declaring that "he would resign his seat in Congress if he could command the force that Mr. Smith could, and would be on the march to the country in a month."⁴¹ In the second letter Hyde wrote:

Most of the settlers in Oregon and Texas are our old enemies, the mobocrats of Missouri. If, however, the settlement of Oregon or Texas be determined upon, the sooner the move is made the better, and I would not advise any delay for the action of government for there is such a jealousy of our rising power already, that government will do nothing to favor us. . . .

Your superior wisdom must determine whether to go to Oregon, to Texas, or to remain within these United States.⁴²

A few days later Hyde again wrote, discussing in some detail the proposed removal to Texas, and cautioned against it.⁴³

³⁹*History of the Church*, VI, 274, 275-277, 281-282, 369.

⁴⁰Whitney, *op. cit.*, XI (January 1, 1883), 114. The issue of redress for the loss of lands purchased from the federal government in Missouri was involved in this petition, which explains their request for land.

⁴¹*History of the Church*, VI, 373-374. Douglas also supplied Hyde with a copy of John C. Fremont's map of Oregon, with his report of the West. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁴²J. H., April 25, 1844.

⁴³See J. H., April 30, 1844.

Whether this letter was a determining factor in the Prophet's decision to abandon the Texas proposal is not clear, but the fact remains that after the middle of May until the time of his martyrdom, June 27, 1844, nothing further was said on the matter.⁴⁴ Instead, existing evidence indicates conclusively that he settled upon the Great Salt Lake Basin as the future headquarters of the Saints. Brigham Young later explained, "When the pioneers left the confines of civilization, we were not seeking a country on the Pacific, neither a country to the north or south; we were seeking a country which had been pointed out by the Prophet Joseph Smith in the midst of the Rocky Mountains, in the interior of the great North American continent."⁴⁵

With such clarity was the westward move of the Saints to the Rocky Mountains set forth by Joseph Smith that he pointed out in detail the course of their future travels. "One of the pioneers, George H. Goddard, . . . left on record the statement that he was present in the Masonic Hall in Nauvoo when Joseph Smith mapped out on the floor with a piece of chalk the Great Basin of western America, indicating the course they would follow across the continent."⁴⁶ Hopkins C. Pendar also reported that "Joseph Smith just before he was killed, made a sketch of the future home of the Saints in the Rocky Mountains and their route or road to that country as he had seen [it] in vision; a map or drawing of it." Levi W. Hancock either made this map as Joseph Smith pointed out the way or drew a copy of one made by the Prophet, from which other copies were made. Brigham Young kept one copy, and "one was carried by the Mormon Battalion by which they knew where to find the Church, or, Salt Lake Valley."⁴⁷ Mosiah Hancock, son of

⁴⁴Had the Saints gone to Texas, to the area proposed, they would undoubtedly have formed their own political government, separate from the republic of Texas or the government of Mexico; territorial status under the United States in that area would also have been virtually impossible under existing circumstances. Knowing this, the Prophet and his associates voted, May 6, 1844, to send Almon W. Babbitt to France. Undoubtedly, his mission was to feel out the French government to determine the course it would follow toward such a new government. But Babbitt never left Nauvoo. The indication is that shortly after his appointment the whole idea was abandoned. See Andrus, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁵J. D., XVI, 207.

⁴⁶E. Cecil McGavin, *Nauvoo the Beautiful* (Salt Lake City, 1946), p. 127.

⁴⁷"Diary of Oliver B. Huntington," II, 425

Levi, threw further light on this matter when he reported a visit by Joseph Smith to his father's home, immediately before his departure for Carthage:

... the Prophet came to our home and stopped in our carpenter shop and stood by the turning lathe. I went and got my map for him. "Now," said he, "I will show you the travels of this people." He then showed our travels thru Iowa, and said, "Here you will make a place for the winter; and here you will travel west until you come to the valley of the Great Salt Lake! You will build cities to the North and to the South, and to the East and to the West; and you will become a great and wealthy people in that land."⁴⁸

In light of these reports, the testimony of William Henry Kimball, son of Heber C. Kimball, is significant. Kimball wrote that he was present in the home of Stephen Winchester, in Nauvoo, with twenty-five others, when Joseph Smith spoke of his coming martyrdom; and "then and there he mapped [out] the life and acts of Brigham Young until [his] death." Said Kimball, "I can assure you it never failed in one instance; I have witnessed the fulfillment of all of the prophecy to a letter and act."⁴⁹

The westward move predominated in the Prophet's thinking during the closing days of his life. To the Nauvoo Legion he said, June 22, 1844, "Your mission will be to the nations of the earth. You will gather many people into the fastness of the Rocky Mountains."⁵⁰ That evening as he and Hyrum considered the growing possibility that they would be martyred if they fell into the hands of their enemies, Joseph's countenance brightened and he exclaimed:

⁴⁸"The Life Story of Mosiah Lyman Hancock," typewritten copy in Brigham Young University Library, pp. 27-29.

⁴⁹Letter of William Henry Kimball to Emmeline B. Wells, written at Coalville City, Summit County, Utah, January 20, 1907. Original on file in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. The writer has corrected certain errors in spelling and punctuation.

⁵⁰The writer has located two independent sources that give almost verbatim accounts of this address. Samuel Holister Rogers, who was present, gave one report. See "Journal of Samuel Holister Rogers," typewritten copy, Brigham Young University Library, pp. 198-201. William Pace, who was present as a lad in his early teens, also reported the address and then adds, "I am indebted to Alfred Bell of Lehi, Utah, for the above . . . taken on the spot by him, and supposed to be very correct." See "Diary of William Byran Pace and Biography of his father James Pace," typewritten copy, Brigham Young University Library, pp. 3-6. Wandle Mace also gave a partial report of this address in which the above quoted portion is found. See "Journal of Wandle Mace, 1809, 1890," typewritten

The way is open. It is clear to my mind what to do. All they want is Hyrum and myself; then tell everyone to go about their business, and not to collect in groups, but to scatter about. . . . We will cross the river tonight, and go away to the West.⁸¹

The *History of the Church* makes this further report: "About 9 p.m. Hyrum came out of the Mansion and gave his hand to Reynolds Cahoon, at the same time saying, 'A company of men are seeking to kill brother Joseph, and the Lord has warned him to flee to the Rocky Mountains to save his life.'"⁸² After the Prophet and others had crossed the river, Orrin P. Rockwell was sent back to Nauvoo to obtain horses for the journey, with instructions to be "ready to start for the *Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains*."⁸³ But when certain brethren accused the Prophet of cowardice for leaving the Saints, he returned to Nauvoo. Before giving himself up, he assembled the Legion and instructed and cautioned them again:

I will therefore say to you Saints and Elders of Israel, be not troubled nor give yourselves uneasiness so as to make rash moves by which you may be cut short in preaching the gospel to this generation, for you will be called upon to go forth and call upon . . . free men . . . to gather themselves in the strongholds of the Rocky Mountains.⁸⁴

With the vision of the westward move of the Saints in his mind, Joseph Smith went to Carthage, to a martyr's death. And as the pioneer company arrived in the Great Basin three years later, to fulfill that vision, Brigham Young explained, "We have come here according to the direction and counsel of Brother Joseph, before his death."⁸⁵

After the death of Joseph Smith, the General Council, under the leadership of Brigham Young, continued to make plans for the exodus. Several entries in Brigham Young's *Journal* in-

copy, Brigham Young University Library, p. 131. The *Journal History* for this date merely reports, "Legion met as usual; and after receiving instructions, were dismissed until 6 p.m., when they met again."

⁸²*History of the Church*, VI, 545-546.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 547.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 548. (Italics by the writer.)

⁸⁵"Journal of Samuel Holister Rogers," *op. cit.*, and "Diary of William Byran Pace," *op. cit.* The writer's comment on the Prophet's previous address to the Legion is also applicable here. The *History of the Church* reports that the Prophet spoke to the Legion on this date, but does not report his comments. See *History of the Church*, VI, 557.

⁸⁶J. H., July 28, 1847.

dicating the nature and extent of the Council's activities at that time. On March 18, 1845, Brigham Young met with that body all day;⁵⁶ and again on the 22nd.⁵⁷ In the latter meeting, "the subject of the western mission was considered and occupied the most of the day."⁵⁸ Several other meetings were also held that spring.⁵⁹

On September 9, 1845, the General Council "Resolved that a company of 1500 men be selected to go to Great Salt Lake Valley and that a committee of five be appointed to gather information relative to emigration, and report the same to the council."⁶⁰ Here is further evidence that before the Saints left Nauvoo they knew where they were to settle in the West. And here they sought again to send out a pioneer body that could prepare the way for the Saints to follow, as outlined by Joseph Smith several years before.

In preparing for the exodus, the General Council selected twenty-five men as Captains of Hundreds, "whose business it was severally to select one hundred families and see that they were prepared for a journey across the Rocky Mountains." The Captains of Hundreds then selected their own Captains of Fifties, Captains of Tens, Clerks, etc. ⁶¹ As the exodus commenced, this initial organization was revised, first, at Sugar Creek, about seven miles west of Nauvoo; second, at Richardson's Point, some fifty-five miles from Nauvoo; and, then, at the Chariton River.⁶²

"As a legislature of the people," Benjamin F. Johnson noted that the General Council directed "all general movements relating to our exodus as a people from Nauvoo."⁶³ Because the Council functioned in the exodus as a political organ among

⁵⁶*History of the Church*, VII, 387.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 387-388.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, In his *Journal*, under date, Willard Richards specifically reports this meeting as being held by the Council of Fifty.

⁵⁹In his *Journal*, Willard Richards reports meetings of the Council of Fifty on the following dates: March 25, April 15, April 22, April 29, May 6, and May 10, 1845.

⁶⁰*History of the Church*, VII, 439. See also pp. 454-455.

⁶¹J. H., March 27, 1846.

⁶²See John D. Lee, "Diaries and Official Records of John D. Lee, 1844-1846, 1850-1851, 1861-1878." Unpublished diaries, minutes, etc., kept by Lee (not complete), Brigham Young University Library, under February 17, 1846, March 9, 1846; J. H., March 27, 1848.

⁶³Benjamin F. Johnson, "An Interesting Letter," unpublished letter from

the Saints, Ezra T. Benson, a prominent member therein, looked upon the Saints as they moved west as "a distinct nation."⁶⁴ It was this body that determined the route the Saints were to travel, and cared for the needs of the people as they traveled, as the minutes of a meeting held by the Council, February 22, 1846, illustrate:

In the forenoon, Chas. C. Rich, who had the day previous been appointed to look after the grains and provider, reported . . . to the council. . . .

Second, the subject of policy and economy was up before the council and decided that the camp should be called together and they be instructed to stop using such articles as will be most suitable to take on the road. . . .

Third, J. D. Lee, by request of Willard Richards, presented a bill of tin brought into the camp by Wm. F. Cahoon (before the council), amounting to \$53 and some cents, which he proposed to sell by wholesale at a discount of 15 per cent. . . .

Fourth, the council [decided] that all reports of corn, grain, provisions, wagons, teams, etc., be handed to J. D. Lee.⁶⁵

Several members of the General Council were assigned to key positions in the various companies. But while this arrangement gave central direction to the exodus, it made it difficult at times for all members of the council to get together. At times, then, only those readily available would meet. The minutes of such meetings very often specify those of the Quorum of the Twelve and others of the General Council who were present, as in the meeting of April 2, 1846:

At 11 a.m. a convention of the council met some 200 yards south of the encampment. Pres[ent] of the Twelve: B. Young, H. C. Kimball, O. Pratt, P. P. Pratt, G. A. Smith. Father John Smith, Bishop [George] Miller, A. P. Rockwood, Shadrach Roundy, B. F. Johnson [and] J. D. Lee [were also present] of the council of the YTFIF [i.e. Fifty], Capt. Stuart, Winter, Benson and others. Several letters were laid before the council and one letter was answered to Elder O. Hyde. . . . Council also decided that the camp roll on 5 miles this evening.⁶⁶

Johnson to George S. Gibbs, April to July, 1903, Brigham Young University Library, pp. 9, 23. Johnson was a member of the Council.

⁶⁴*Journals of John D. Lee*, ed. Charles Kelley (Salt Lake City, 1938), p. 25.

⁶⁵"Diary of John D. Lee, 1844, 1846, 1850-1851," February 22, 1846.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, under date. See also the meetings held April 18 and May 20, 1846.

At a meeting of the Council, May 20, 1846, another effort was made to send a pioneer company ahead; but again circumstances prevented. The following month the Federal Government called upon the Saints for 500 men to fight in the war with Mexico. The General Council made the decision to recruit the Mormon Battalion.⁸⁷

The final arrangements for moving the Saints to the Great Basin were made at Winter Quarters. To this end a series of meetings was held by the General Council, beginning December 25, 1846, and continuing through the 27th. Brigham Young wrote, in a letter to Charles C. Rich, January 4, 1847, that the Council decided to "send on a pioneer company as early as possible with plows, seed, grain, etc." Other companies were to follow.⁸⁸

The departure of the pioneer company for the Great Basin terminated the meetings of the General Council for a time; and as clerk of the Council, William Clayton delivered "the records of the K. of G. [Kingdom of God]" to Brigham Young.⁸⁹ As the pioneer company moved toward its destination, President Young spoke of their ideal of universal peace under the Kingdom of God, the foundations of which they were going west to establish:

I would say to you brethren, and to the Elders of Israel, if you are faithful, you will yet be sent to preach this Gospel to the nations of the earth and to bid all welcome whether they believe the Gospel or not, and this kingdom will reign over many who do not belong to the Church, over thousands who do not believe in the Gospel. Bye and bye every knee shall bow and every tongue confess and acknowledge and reverence and honor the name of God and His priesthood and observe the laws of the kingdom whether they belong to the Church and obey the Gospel or not, and I mean that every man in this company shall do it. That is what the scripture

⁸⁷Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Johnson to Gibbs, pp. 22-23. See also William Clayton's *Journal*, pp. 50-54; J. H., July 13, 1846.

⁸⁸J. H., December 25, 26, 27, 1846; Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

⁸⁹William Clayton's *Journal*, p. 74. Clayton reported that in the pioneer company there were the following men who were members of the General Council: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, Amasa Lyman, Ezra T. Benson, Phineas H. Young, John Pack, Charles Shumway, Shadrach Roundy, Albert P. Rockwood, Erastus Snow, William Clayton, Thomas Bullock, Albert Carrington, and Orrin Porter Rockwell. See *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

means by every knee shall bow, etc., and you cannot make anything else of it."⁷⁰

Orson Pratt later referred to the feelings he experienced when the pioneer company arrived in the Great Basin, when he commented, "I felt as though it was the place for which we had so long sought."⁷¹

When the company reached Salt Lake Valley, a High Council was organized to hold jurisdiction in the Valley after Brigham Young and others returned to Winter Quarters. John Smith, Charles C. Rich, and John Young were appointed to preside as the new Stake Presidency. As members of the General Council, John Smith and Charles C. Rich could act in both a civil and an ecclesiastical capacity.⁷² This, however, was but a temporary arrangement, and those who remained in the valley looked forward to the time when the General Council would assume the responsibility of dispensing law and order in the area. In a meeting held October 10, 1847, they discussed the High Council's authority in the light of the greater powers reposed in the General Council:

P. P. Pratt told of the government of the Stake: the Prest., his Counselors and the High Council. Here the High Council has to attend to temporal as well as spiritual matters, for we have no county and state officers, etc. . . . [We] need a law to prevent men from settling in a scattered manner and to prevent cutting green timber; and all such laws will be for the people of this stake for the time being. *No one quorum has power to give eternal laws for this people but a greater council which contains [includes] the Twelve may do this . . . The council above named will regulate this matter as soon as they come up and sit. . . .*

John Taylor stated that P. P. Pratt had told the truth with regard to organization and law, etc., and there were as many as 20 or thereabouts present who knew it . . .⁷³

After Brigham Young and other members of the General Council were permanently settled in the Great Basin, the Council commenced again to direct the civic affairs of the people. On December 9, 1848, they met and discussed the

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

⁷¹J. D., XII, 88.

⁷²John Young was made a member of the General Council, January 20, 1849. See J. H., under date.

⁷³Charles C. Rich's *Journal*, under date. Original on file in Church Historian's Office. (Italics by the writer.)

propriety of petitioning the federal government for a territorial government, with officers of their "own nomination." Territorial boundaries were discussed and the name *Deseret* proposed. Brigham Young was nominated governor; Willard Richards, secretary; Heber C. Kimball, chief judge; Newel K. Whitney and Parley P. Pratt, associate judges; and John M. Bernhisel, marshal.⁷⁴ With certain alterations, these proposed officers were later established in office within the provincial State of Deseret. The General Council also organized itself into the provincial legislature of that government about the time the above nominations were made; and, thus, Joseph Smith's plan for establishing the Saints in the Great Basin came to fruition.⁷⁵ Indeed, with reference to the State of Deseret, Brigham Young could say, "Joseph Smith organized this government before, in Nauvoo."⁷⁶

So well did the General Council do its work, during the winter of 1848-49, that when the State of Deseret was officially organized, in July, 1849, there was no immediate business for the new government to consider. The first session of the legislature was primarily concerned with other matters. As for the State's proposed constitution, it was an ideal. John M. Bernhisel wrote to Brigham Young from Washington, October 2, 1850, stating, "The Constitution of Deseret was much admired by statesmen here, not only as being very ably written, but was regarded as the best Constitution of the Country."⁷⁷ There have been few, if any, organs of government that can boast of so orderly and intelligent a beginning. It is a credit to Joseph Smith that the guiding principles he set forth and the organization developed therefrom should result in so orderly a formation of government in the West, and that the end-product should receive such acclaim.

⁷⁴J. H., December 9, 1848; John D. Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, ed. Robert Class Cleland and Juanita Brooks (San Marino, California, 1955), I, 80-82.

⁷⁵See Andrus, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff.

⁷⁶J. H., January 19, 1863.

⁷⁷Cited in Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1940), pp. 118-119.



Water Color: "Upper Provo," Conan Mathews.

The United Nations as a Policy Instrument

ROBERT E. RIGGS

In the eyes of its members the United Nations is judged by its capacity to increase, or restrict, the ultimate reach of national policy. It can remain viable as long as members believe that the usefulness of the instrument outweighs the limitations upon their freedom of action. In a general sense, the organization was established precisely for the purpose of limiting national freedom of action—the freedom to engage in aggressive war. Framers of the Charter recognized that they were creating an external source of influence upon their national policies. But in the minds of most statesmen, certainly American statesmen, the organization was conceived as a means of restricting other countries—the "aggressive" ones. If the United Nations were not to be an instrument for achieving important national goals, what good was it? Viewed in this light, the United Nations must be evaluated primarily as an instrument of national policy. This essay will concentrate upon its characteristics as an instrument of United States policy.

Idealists may protest that the function of the United Nations in world politics is construed too narrowly if it is regarded as an instrument of national policy. From a practical standpoint, however, there is no better way to evaluate its success or failure. National governments are the agencies which speak for people in international politics. Each must be concerned with the interests of its own people, as it interprets them. To regard the goals of United States foreign policy as wholly compatible with the goals of all other right-minded peace-loving states would be comforting. But this view is true only, if indeed it is ever true, with respect to vague and generalized long-run objectives. Nearly all may agree on the desirability of "peace," "justice," economic "well-being," and respect for "individual worth and dignity." Here all stand on common ground—East

Dr. Riggs is assistant professor of political science at Brigham Young University.

meets West and even the great Goliaths of the Cold War have no quarrel. But in the short-run encounters in which policy is actually made and executed, a general coincidence of national policy goals is much harder to find. Consequently, United Nations contributions to peace, justice, and well-being cannot readily be evaluated in terms having general application. The United Nations contributes to these things only as they are made concrete by interpretation—particularly by governments which are the actors in international politics. If governments can agree on interpretations, so much the better. If they cannot, evaluations will differ. In any event, the United Nations is valuable to the United States only as it furthers identifiable policy objectives, whether other countries share those objectives or not. In this sense and with this justification, the United Nations will be discussed as an instrument of national policy.

THE USES OF THE U. N. INSTRUMENT

In the lexicon of policy instruments the UN is usually regarded as an extension of diplomacy. Dag Hammarskjöld has called it "an instrument for negotiation among, and to some extent for, Governments . . . an instrument added to the time-honored means of diplomacy for concerting action by Governments in support of the goals of the Charter."¹ As an extension of diplomacy, the United Nations offers manifest advantages in matters in which nations from all parts of the world have a legitimate interest. With the exception of Switzerland, mainland China, the three partitioned states of Germany, Viet-nam, and Korea, all countries of importance in world affairs are included in UN membership. The new states emerging from the metamorphosis of old colonial empires are now taking their seats within the organization almost concurrently with the attainment of independence. Thus consultations and negotiations on a wide variety of topics can be multilateralized—almost universalized—on the shortest notice.² The advantages to a country of having

¹"The Indispensable Role of the United Nations," *United Nations Review*, Vol. 4 (Oct., 1957), p. 16.

²The UN political process has been described in greater detail elsewhere, but a brief recapitulation seems appropriate here. For fuller discussion see Robert E. Riggs, *Politics in the United Nations* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1958), pp. 11-44 and *passim*; James N. Hyde, "United States Participation in the United Nations," *International Organization*, Vol. 10 (Feb., 1956), pp. 22-34; Benjamin H. Brown and Joseph E. Johnson, "The U.S. and the UN,"

a listening post tuned simultaneously to reports and views from all parts of the world are not to be minimized. The physical proximity of many of the permanent UN missions facilitates frequent contact. The UN building itself is a magnet which daily draws to neutral ground representatives from most countries, whether or not a major organ is in session. Its commodious offices, lounges, meeting halls, and corridors provide ideal congregating spots for groups of delegates. The procedures and habits of multilateral interchange developed at the UN are no small contribution to the clarification of issues and outlining of settlements—if settlements are indeed feasible. The mediatory and expert services of the Secretariat are another peculiar UN contribution to successful negotiation.

On the other hand, if a problem involves only two or a few powers, the UN may be less conducive to an amicable settlement than another locale. Certainly, there is little reason to hope that a disagreement which the Soviet Union and the United States cannot solve at Washington or Moscow can be more easily settled by moving the site of negotiations to New York. If the issue has engendered ill-will, questioning of good faith, or clash of vital interests, carrying it to an open forum may invite all of the disadvantages of goldfish bowl diplomacy. Matters of regional concern may be much more expeditiously handled in a regional organization than in the General Assembly where the majority of delegations present have only a peripheral—and a few perhaps a sinister—interest in the problem. NATO family squabbles like the three-cornered Cyprus imbroglio may find their way to the UN but not because of any manifest advantages for reasoned negotiation. Cyprus was thrown into the UN arena because negotiation had failed and Greece hoped to try pressure. Indirectly the prospect of perennial debates in the Assembly, so injurious to the morale and prestige of NATO, spurred the parties to achieve the ultimate diplomatic settlement—outside the UN. But only in a very left-handed fashion can the UN be given credit for facilitating negotiations.

As the Cyprus affair aptly illustrates the United Nations

can be used for other purposes than diplomatic negotiation. States come there as often to broadcast propaganda to foreign and domestic audiences as to engage in serious negotiation. This is especially true of formal meetings where orators, some with speeches polished to the last affected pause and carefully phrased innuendo, are apparently convinced of the proposition that all the world's a stage. The UN has other uses as well. By automatically multilateralizing every issue raised there, it provides opportunities for the influential to exert their influence upon matters which otherwise would not directly concern them. Multilateralization may also serve some states by legitimizing policies which other states would find unacceptable if carried on outside the UN framework. If the elements of world opinion reached through the UN have any real force, the organization skillfully used can become a means of subtle coercion. In the case of Korea coercion assumed the less subtle form of military force. The successful if limited use of the organization as an operating agency for economic and social programs is another illustration of UN extra-diplomatic activities.

In wielding this many-faceted tool of foreign policy, the United States works primarily through its permanent mission to the United Nations, an expertly staffed body of well over a hundred officials and administrative personnel. Headed by a Permanent Representative to the United Nations as Chief of Mission, it is for all practical purposes, except administrative control, an embassy to the United Nations.³ Well supplied with subject matter and geographic area specialists for year-round operations, the mission is bolstered by additional teams of experts sent down from Washington for special UN meetings, including the annual General Assembly sessions and the semi-annual meetings of the Economic and Social Council. In the autumn five to ten amateur diplomats are also attached to the

³Since 1953, when Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., became Permanent Representative, the precise administrative status of the mission has been somewhat anomalous. According to the organization chart, the mission head should be responsible to the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the International Organization Bureau in the Department of State. However, because of Mr. Lodge's special personal and political relationship with President Eisenhower, he was given quasi-cabinet status along with the UN job. Thus, while being nominally and for administrative purposes responsible to the bureau head, he has had a direct pipeline to the President as well.

mission as official delegates and alternates to the General Assembly.

From their Park Avenue citadel the delegates and advisers sally forth to represent the interests of their country. If the object is to score propaganda points off a communist competitor, argument alone may be enough. Usually, however, votes must be marshalled in sufficient numbers to secure formal adoption of a resolution expressing the approved point of view or authorizing the desired action. In this task United States representatives begin with important advantages: they speak for a country with great military power, economic resources, and a recognized position of leadership among non-communist countries. But these are only the foundations of influence. Technique is also crucial, and the strategy of winning UN majorities begins well before the mission personnel go out to garner votes. In the planning of U.S. positions, every reasonable effort is made to consider the views and interests of other countries, including, in many instances, advance consultation with representatives of the countries most vitally concerned. If this is done well, the vote-catching will be easy; our position will be their position. Advance preparation can never be ideally thorough, however, and the process of consultation and adjustment may continue up to the final vote. Always the preferred approach is to find an area of common interest wide enough to take in a majority without pressure. Crucial votes are secured in the heat of battle by adding a co-sponsor here, a new paragraph there, or a minor deletion or change of phraseology. Occasionally a more devious approach may be used: that of persuading a friendly delegation to present the American resolution so that the origin of the program is obfuscated and some delegations relieved of the embarrassment of supporting a United States proposal on a sensitive topic. If other means fail, friendly persuasion may sometimes yield to pressure in order to win reluctant or indifferent delegates. Telegrams to the home governments, persistent badgering in lounges and corridors, allusions to the possible repercussions in Congress, and perhaps a smattering of old-fashioned horse-trading may be involved. Great care must be taken to assure that only the right arms are twisted, and that these are not broken, for malice might well be the fruit of pres-

sure misguidedly, unskillfully, or too persistently applied.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Each deliberative organ of the United Nations has its particular competence, procedures, traditions, and political configurations. Each must be used by the United States according to its peculiar limitations and potentialities. The General Assembly is the most inclusive in scope and membership and undoubtedly the most important. There is essentially no subject impinging on international relations which it cannot discuss if the members want to. The Charter limitation upon the right to intervene in matters "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state"⁴ has in practice been vitiated by the tendency of the Assembly to construe its own authority broadly. Although the Assembly is constitutionally prohibited from making a recommendation with regard to any dispute or situation being considered by the Security Council,⁵ discussions of the same situation may take place concurrently in both bodies. The Assembly's role is enhanced by its electoral functions. The non-permanent members of the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council, and all members of the Economic and Social Council, are elected by vote of the General Assembly. The Assembly shares with the Security Council the responsibility of admitting new members, selecting the Secretary-General, and appointing members of the International Court of Justice. Through its power of recommendation, control of the UN budget, and its right to receive and review annual reports from the other major organs, the Assembly exercises supervisory authority over the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the Secretariat. Leaving aside the question of legal obligation, the Secretariat invariably attempts to carry out Assembly recommendations while ECOSOC and the Trusteeship Council usually do. Individual members of the Assembly, although not legally bound by its recommendations, are less diligent in carrying them out; but most prefer to give at least the appearance of compliance whenever possible.

In the autumn the permanent missions to the United Nations can anticipate a substantial increase in the level of activity as

⁴UN Charter, Art. 2, sec. 7.

⁵Ibid, Art. 12, sec. 1.

delegations from more than eighty member states converge on New York for the annual sessions of the Assembly. Ordinarily the sessions convene in mid-September and end in December, although the practice of postponing sessions until November during American presidential election years is becoming well established.⁶ Once the session is formally terminated, the Assembly will not meet until the following autumn unless called into special session by a request of the Security Council or a majority of the members. The unwieldy method of request by a UN majority has never been used, but on five different occasions, 1947-1958, the Assembly has met at the request of the Security Council—four times to deal with problems in the explosive Middle East and once in response to Soviet suppression of the 1956 Hungarian revolt.⁷ The Assembly has been resourceful in devising alternatives to the special session when faced with problems which require supervision or Assembly action during nine months of the year when it does not ordinarily meet. One method has been the establishment of subsidiary bodies with special supervisory or watch-dog functions.⁸ Another expedient frequently used is to recess the regular session temporarily and authorize the Assembly President or the Secretary-General to reconvene the session whenever necessary. Under such an arrangement the seventh Assembly resumed its activities in the spring of 1953 and met again in August to act on the Korean Armistice Agreement. More recently, because of the Hungarian crisis, the eleventh session did not formally end until September, 1957, ten months from its opening date and just in time for the twelfth session to begin.

⁶This was done in 1952 and again in 1956.

⁷The first two special sessions, in 1947 and 1948, were "regular" special sessions called to discuss the fate of the British Palestine mandate. The last three have been "Special Emergency Sessions" convened by the Security Council under the terms of the Assembly's 1950 Uniting for Peace Resolution which makes the Assembly subject to call on 24 hours' notice on a "procedural" vote of the Security Council. The first and second Special Emergency Sessions were held concurrently in November, 1956, to deal with the Suez and Hungarian crises. The most recent met in August, 1958, to discuss U.S. military intervention in Lebanon and other problems of the Middle East.

⁸An example is the now-defunct United Nations Commission on Korea, which was performing an observational assignment in Korea at the time of the North Korean invasion. A more ambitious, but largely abortive, attempt, the Interim Committee of the Assembly, first established in 1947 as a general purpose committee of the full membership, remains officially in existence but

There is, of course, no guarantee that the Assembly when convened will act quickly. It can, as evidenced by the Suez crisis. In that instance the Special Emergency Session met on November 1 at the request of the Security Council. Deliberating almost continuously throughout the day and night, the Assembly adopted a cease-fire resolution in the small hours of the morning, November 2, less than 24 hours after the session had begun. Ordinarily, however, due deliberation rather than speed characterizes the Assembly. Regular agenda items are supposed to be submitted at least sixty days in advance of the session, although special items may be later proposed. These must be approved by the General Committee, a steering body composed of the principal officers of the Assembly and its committees, and subsequently submitted to the whole Assembly for acceptance. General Committee recommendations are usually approved without debate, except for the most controversial items. Although this stage is relatively expeditious, the committee stage which follows is usually not. Each of the seven principal committees to which items are allotted according to subject matter classification gives representation to all member countries.⁹ All members do not speak on every issue, but each is entitled to speak if it wishes. On a particularly important or controversial question, committee discussion of an item may last several weeks. Nearly two months were consumed in the committee discussion of the partition of Palestine. The committee's report is ultimately submitted to the plenary meeting of the Assembly for final acceptance, amendment, or rejection. A simple majority governs all committee decisions but formal Assembly resolutions on "important" matters require a two-thirds majority of those voting ye or nay.¹⁰

still abortive, owing to a Soviet boycott. The Soviet Union regarded it, quite correctly, as an attempt to circumvent the veto-bound Security Council.

⁹The committees are commonly designated numerically, e.g., First Committee, Second Committee, etc. By subject matter classification they are (1) the Political and Security Committee; (2) the Economic and Financial Committee; (3) the Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee; (4) the Trusteeship Committee; (5) the Administrative and Budgetary Committee; and (6) the Legal Committee. The seventh committee is known as the Special Political Committee (prior to 1956 the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee).

¹⁰Abstentions and absences are not counted in the computation of a two-thirds majority. Some types of "important" matters are specified in the Charter. The Assembly may designate others by a simple majority.

The process just described is an extension of diplomacy, but it is also a legislative process in which the criterion of success is a voting majority. Every issue is a separate battle and every draft resolution will have peculiarities which attract or repel individual votes. In general, however, the Assembly maintains rather stable political alignments which permit fairly accurate prediction of the fate of some types of issues. This predictability is a boon to State Department planners when preparing their legislative program and positions for a forthcoming General Assembly. Experts in the permanent mission and in the bureau can usually calculate in advance—give or take a few votes—what the final decision on most proposals will be. They cannot, of course, always predict what types of vote-catching compromises the Russians or others will raise on controversial issues. This adds an element of uncertainty and surprise, which, if skillfully exploited, can sometimes lead to unexpected tactical defeats of the United States.

The most common and convenient method of analyzing the political complexion of the Assembly begins with the delineation of voting blocs, some of which have formal arrangements for periodic caucusing by bloc members. For voting purposes, the most significant bloc alignments are as follows:

<i>Latin American</i>	<i>Soviet bloc</i>
Argentina	U.S.S.R.
Bolivia	Ukraine
Brazil	Byelorussia
Chile	Czechoslovakia
Colombia	Poland
Costa Rica	Romania
Cuba	Bulgaria
Dominican Republic	Hungary
Ecuador	Albania
El Salvador	
Guatemala	<i>Non-bloc</i>
Haiti	Yugoslavia
Honduras	Israel
Mexico	China
Nicaragua	Finland
Panama	
Paraguay	
Peru	
Uruguay	
Venezuela	

<i>Western bloc</i>	<i>Afro-Asian</i>
Australia	Afghanistan
Austria	Burma
Belgium	Cambodia
Canada	Ceylon
Denmark	Ethiopia
France	Guinea
Greece	Ghana
Iceland	India
Ireland	Indonesia
Italy	Iran
Luxembourg	Iraq*
Netherlands	Japan
New Zealand	Jordan*
Norway	Laos
Portugal	Lebanon*
Spain	Liberia
Sweden	Libya*
Turkey	Malayan Federation
Union of South Africa	Morocco*
United Kingdom	Nepal
United States	Pakistan
	Philippines
	Saudi Arabia*
	Sudan*
	Thailand
	Tunisia*
	Turkey
	United Arab Republic*
	Yemen*

*Also a member of the Arab League

Some catalogs of bloc alignments might list NATO, Western Europe, or the Commonwealth separately. Members of the Commonwealth, both old and new, meet regularly while the assembly is in session to discuss issues of mutual interest, but as a group they do not show much voting cohesiveness. Less regularly, representatives of Western European countries have collective consultations as do NATO members if pertinent issues arise. For voting purposes, however, the more recent additions to the Commonwealth belong with the Afro-Asian bloc; and the countries of Western Europe, NATO and the old Commonwealth have enough interests in common to be regarded as a single "Western" bloc. Turkey is somewhat of an anomaly being represented in both NATO and the formal caucus deli-

berations of the Afro-Asian bloc. For the present classification, Turkey is with both groups. China, Finland, Israel, and Yugoslavia, lacking sufficient affinity of interest and outlook with any of the established groupings, are treated here as members of no bloc.

Of the numerous agenda items which come to a final vote in any session of the Assembly, probably a majority will be adopted by unanimous consent, or something closely approximating unanimity. Most of these relate to administrative detail, confirmation of appointments, or other matters not affecting the vital interests of states. Others affect vital interests but do not give rise to marked conflicts of interest. Although a strong clash of interests may develop on issues in any subject matter classification, the most persistent and fundamental cleavages center around the Cold War, colonialism, and the problems of the world's underdeveloped majority.

On questions basically involving East-West conflict, the United States can almost always muster large majorities. This may require careful position preparation, earnest consultation, and hard work in the UN lobbies. But it can be done. Of the 21 votes in the "Western" bloc at least 18 will ordinarily be cast for the United States position. Typically, South Africa may be absent in protest against Assembly discussion of its racial policies, and one or two of the others may be absent when the ballot is taken or perhaps abstain for special reasons. The Latin-American group of 20 votes should be good for a conservative minimum of fifteen on an East-West security issue, an allowance being made for unpredictable absences or abstentions. Among the Afro-Asians the precise voting configuration will vary with the nature of the issue and, in the case of a few, with a change in domestic regimes. Another conservative estimate might count at least ten and possibly as many as twenty from this group. Of the four non-bloc countries, Israel will probably sustain the West, as will Nationalist China. Yugoslavia and Finland, characteristically, will abstain. On the basis of these conservative estimates, the vote in favor of the United States position would be 46—18 from the Western bloc, 15 from Latin-America, 10 from the Afro-Asian group, and two from non-bloc countries. The total of 46 is not an absolute two-thirds

majority (55 votes), but it is easily enough, in view of the potential opposition. Opposing votes will include all nine of the Soviet bloc, but not necessarily anyone else. On rare occasions a few Afro-Asian countries or Yugoslavia may vote with the Soviet bloc, but Latin-America, Western Europe, and the English-speaking Commonwealth are not likely to yield a single one. Usually the result will be even more lop-sided on a straight East-West security issue.¹¹ This alignment might be modified substantially, however, if the security issue is clouded by association with colonialism or if it also involves other elements not directly related to the Cold War.

Debate and voting on colonial issues reveal another fundamental cleavage in the Assembly, but United States interests are usually less vitally affected than with East-West security questions. The one American-administered trusteeship is a "strategic area" subject to review by the Security Council rather than the General Assembly. United States administration of its non-self-governing territories is above serious reproach, and there are no outstanding problems of suppressed self-determination in any American territories. Britain, France, South Africa, Belgium, and the Netherlands are the countries whose vital interests have been most deeply affected by colonial issues aired in the UN. For the sake of solidarity with its NATO allies, or in protest at meddlesome interference by the Assembly majority in matters of territorial administration best handled by the administering powers, the United States may sometimes speak and vote on the side of the colonial minority. Other battles will find the United States casting a silent and uneasy abstention. Occasionally its delegates will join the anti-colonial majority, spurred by conviction or the exigencies of UN politics. Not infrequently a moderate resolution may win the support of the United States and most of the colonial powers.

The structure of majorities on colonial questions in the Assembly is particularly fluid and complex. A few examples from the record of the twelfth Assembly may illustrate some of the variations. On a moderate approach to the problem of

¹¹General Assembly Resolution 1143 (XII). See *Official Records of the General Assembly, 12th sess., Plenary Meetings*, pp. 369-70. South Africa was boycotting the Assembly in its annual protest against alleged interference in her internal affairs.

South West Africa, the final vote was 50-10-20. Burma and nine communist states voted in opposition, twenty countries abstained (15 of the 20 were Afro-Asian votes), and all the other—including the United States and all of the colonial powers except South Africa—voted in the affirmative. On the Cyprus question in the same Assembly, the non-communist members of the Assembly were almost evenly split into three segments—22 in favor, 24 opposed, and 24 abstaining. The Soviet bloc favored the resolution, making the affirmative vote total 31. Latin-American states were almost evenly distributed among the three groups; Afro-Asians were about equally divided between affirmative and abstention, except for three in the negative group; and the Western bloc voted chiefly in the negative.¹² The West Irian issue, to exhibit a third arrangement, found the Afro-Asians and Communists almost solidly in favor of the resolution, abetted by five Latin-Americans and Greece; Western Europe and the Old Commonwealth—supported by nine Latin-American votes, China, and Israel—lined up almost solidly in opposition; and abstaining were 6 Latin-Americans, the United States and Turkey, Finland, Cambodia and Liberia. The vote was 41-29-11.¹³

The cleavage between developed and underdeveloped countries in the Assembly is not so often expressed in voting upon resolutions as it is in the accompanying debate. Marked differences of viewpoint often separate the United States as chief donor of financial resources from the recipient underdeveloped majority, but the tendency in recent years has been to draft compromise resolutions capable of winning unanimous or near-unanimous votes. The United States has made some concessions to pressures for bigger aid programs, while the majority have usually—if reluctantly—recognized that a large-scale UN economic development program without the support of the United States and other major capital exporting countries is tantamount to no program. If the underdeveloped nations chose to press their majority, they might be able to adopt very grandiose paper programs. Fortunately, they have not done so on most occasions.

¹²UN Yearbook, 1957, p. 76.

¹³Official Records of the General Assembly, 12th sess., Plenary Meetings, p. 547.

A number of UN observers have suggested that the new membership of the United Nations, enlarged by the admission of twenty-three states since 1955, has eroded United States influence in the Assembly. The point may be more clearly illustrated by listing the twenty-three new additions according to bloc membership:

<i>Afro-Asian bloc</i>	<i>Western bloc</i>	<i>Soviet bloc</i>	<i>Non-bloc</i>
Cambodia	Austria	Albania	Finland
Ceylon	Ireland	Bulgaria	
Ghana	Italy	Hungary	
Guinea	Portugal	Romania	
Japan	Spain		
Jordan			
Laos			
Libya			
Morocco			
Malayan Federation			
Nepal			
Sudan			
Tunisia			

Only five votes were added to the West, while four sure votes accrued to the Soviet bloc, and a net gain of twelve was registered by the Afro-Asian group.¹⁴ Expressed in percentages of the total membership, the new Assembly shows a definite shift in favor of Afro-Asia and the Soviet bloc. The total voting strength of Western Europe, NATO, and the Old Commonwealth remains virtually constant—25.6 as compared with the former 26.7—and the small group of non-bloc states maintains the same relative strength. Latin-America and Afro-Asia, however, exchange positions. The twenty Latin-American votes, which were one-third of the total in the old Assembly, now account for less than 25%. The new members from Africa and Asia raise their bloc voting strength from the former 26.7% to more than a third in the new Assembly. Proportionately, the Soviet bloc has had the greatest accretion of power although the actual increase is less than three percentage points.

Despite this shift of the Assembly center of gravity toward

¹⁴One vote was lost to this bloc in 1958 when Syria and Egypt merged in the United Arab Republic.

the areas least susceptible to United States influence, the practical consequences for United States policy have not been severe. Members of the mission must contact more delegations and calculate the odds more carefully to obtain the required majorities. The necessity for compromise has increased somewhat. A few more abstentions are apparent, and occasionally the Soviet opposition acquires an additional vote or two. But the new configuration of the Assembly has thus far not prevented the United States from securing two-thirds majorities on vital issues. On colonial questions, the position of the anti-colonial factions has been strengthened; but most colonial questions on which the United States votes with the minority would have found the United States in the minority in the 60-vote Assembly. The addition of new members has added to the pressures but has not significantly affected the voting alignments on issues of economic assistance and development.

The following table of Assembly voting on certain perennial issues may graphically illustrate the impact of the new membership upon voting trends.¹⁵

	<i>Apartheid</i>	<i>West Irian</i>	<i>Disarmament</i>	<i>Korea</i>
1952	35-1-23		52-5-3	54-5-1
1953	38-11-11		54-0-5	55-0-5
1954	40-10-10	33-23-4	Unanimous	50-5-4
1955	41-6-8	Unanimous	53-5-0	44-0-11
1956	56-5-12	40-25-13	Unanimous	57-8-9
1957	59-6-14	41-29-11	56-9-15	54-9-16
1958	70-5-4	Not voted on	49-9-22	54-9-17

Examination of the Apartheid and West Irian questions, neither of which directly involve the prestige or vital interests of the United States, shows that the capacity of majority coalitions to adopt resolutions was not affected one way or the other. The affirmative vote tended to be larger in the years after 1955, and in the case of West Irian the number of abstentions increased markedly. However, both before and after the magic number "60" was discarded in December, 1955, the majorities were adequate to assure passage of resolutions concerning the

¹⁵The points at issue and the proposed resolutions were not precisely the same each year with each of the four questions, as the occasional unanimous agreement indicates. These four were selected, however, because they were perennials in which the issues did to a large extent remain homogeneous from year to year.

South African racial policies and inadequate to endorse by a two-thirds vote the position of Indonesia on West Irian. A check on disarmament and the Korean problem, two questions directly affecting the interests and prestige of the United States, finds American capacity to secure two-thirds majorities practically unimpaired. Although the number of affirmative votes did not show any significant increase, the opposition was augmented only by the addition of the four Soviet satellites.¹⁶ These facts suggest that for practical purposes the erosion of American influence due to increased membership in the Assembly has been slight. The one notable difference is a greater number of abstentions, which may have the effect of limiting the moral force or the propaganda value of the resolutions.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council, originally intended to be the keystone of the UN arch, has a much more restricted use as an instrument of United States policy. Although the Charter grants the Security Council priority of action in the area of international peace and security, it has often yielded to action by the Assembly. So organized, by Charter prescription, "as to be able to function continuously,"¹⁷ the Council in recent years has often passed weeks at a time without having a substantial matter to deal with. Each month a new President takes office as rotation by alphabetical order gives each of its five permanent members and six non-permanent members an opportunity to share the glory and sometimes the tactical advantage of presiding, if there is any discussion over which to preside.

The reasons for this malaise of the Security Council are not hard to find. In a phrase—a hackneyed one—the root of the problem is great power deadlock. Established so that substantive decisions require the assent of all five permanent members—plus any two others, agreement among the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and China is a necessary prerequisite to action. The Security Council acquired veto-paralysis in its infancy, resulting in the atrophy of many of its intended functions. Its Military Staff Committee, supposed to advise the

¹⁶In 1956 the Hungarian representative was absent—hence the 8 opposing votes instead of 9.

¹⁷UN Charter, Art. 28.

Council on military matters, has for years been an institutional appendix. The armed forces, the vaunted "teeth" of the new organization, were never placed at the disposal of the Council by special agreements under Article 43 because of disagreements among the major powers. In June and July, 1950, the Security Council authorized military action in Korea. But this proved to be a set of false teeth, never really under the Council's control and impossible to use when the Soviet delegate returned in August. With divided counsels and lack of power to enforce its decisions, the Security Council has not always commanded the respect of governments. Despite the Charter commitment of all members "to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter,"¹⁸ enforcement orders of the Council have been sometimes disregarded or implemented only in part.

These circumstances have narrowed the Security Council's usefulness to essentially two types of issues—those upon which the United States and the Soviet Union can agree (or at least not disagree) and those from which some propaganda value may be derived. The former category has included disputes and outbreaks of violence not directly relating to East-West conflict, such as the Kashmir dispute, violence in the Middle East, and the Indonesian struggle for independence from the Netherlands. With respect to the latter, the value of the Security Council to the United States is reduced by the capacity of the Soviet delegate to forestall any substantive resolution by his negative vote, so that the United States cannot then claim the official sanction of the Security Council for its position. This contrasts with the General Assembly where anti-Soviet propositions have often been passed over the Soviet negative vote. With the Council's membership restricted to eleven, its voice also carries much less conviction as the "verdict of world opinion." However, the prior claim of the Council to disputes and threats to the peace means that some actions can most appropriately be initiated there. It has the merit of availability at times when the General Assembly is not in session and the magnitude of the issue is not great enough to warrant calling a special Assembly session. The Security Council may also be use-

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Art. 25.

ful when the object is to draw a lone Russian veto against nine or ten affirmative votes, thereby creating the appearance of Soviet intransigence.

The composition of the Security Council assures that the constitutional majority of seven can readily be obtained on virtually all issues affecting the vital security interests of the United States.¹⁹ The mathematics are simple. Of the five permanent members, Britain, China, France, and the United States are sure pro-Western votes. Under the principle of geographical distribution adopted by the Assembly for election of non-permanent members, two Latin-American countries always hold seats, one is allotted to Western Europe and one is filled by a prominent Commonwealth country. These are usually safe pro-Western votes, unless India holds the Commonwealth chair. Of the remaining two Council seats, one is filled from the Middle East and the other from Eastern Europe or Afro-Asia. At worst, in recent years, the Eastern European or Asian member might be expected to abstain. At best, the member might be Turkey, Greece, or the Philippines, which could be expected to "vote right" on the crucial questions. From 1946 through 1949 Poland and the Ukraine voted with the Soviet Union on all issues, but since then no Soviet satellite has been elected to the Council. The strength of the U.S. political position on the Council may be indicated by listing the non-permanent membership for selected years.

1947	1950	1952	1955	1958	1959
Australia	Cuba	Brazil	Belgium	Canada	Argentina
Belgium	Ecuador	Chile	Brazil	Colombia	Canada
Brazil	Egypt	Greece	Iran	Iraq	Italy
Colombia	India	Netherlands	New Zealand	Japan	Japan
Poland	Norway	Pakistan	Peru	Panama	Pakistan
Syria	Yugoslavia	Turkey	Turkey	Sweden	Tunisia
<i>Latin-America</i>	<i>Western bloc</i>	<i>Afro-Asian bloc</i>	<i>Soviet bloc</i>	<i>Other</i>	
Costa Rica	Netherlands	Afghanistan	Soviet Union	China	
Chile	France	Sudan	Poland	Finland	
Venezuela	New Zealand	Pakistan	Bulgaria		
Mexico	Spain				
	United States				
	United Kingdom				

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

In comparison with the Assembly and the Security Council, the eighteen-member Economic and Social Council hardly

¹⁹Issues not so vital to the United States might find different alignments. On admission of some new members and other issues, the United States has abstained, while friends and allies have voted with the Soviet Union.

seems to merit the appellation of a major organ. It lacks the broad scope of action and the universal membership of the Assembly. Although the Big Five are unfailingly reelected by the Assembly when their three-year council terms expire, ECOSOC decisions also lack the authoritativeness that sometimes emanates from the Security Council when the veto is not operative. Its agenda does not ordinarily extend to those dramatic disputes and threats to the peace which give such intrinsic importance to the Security Council. Although peace may ultimately depend upon the solution to world economic and social problems, the discussions of the Economic and Social Council do not have the same urgency or popular appeal and consequently receive scantier coverage in the press and other mass media. Until 1958 the United States government did not have a full time officer for ECOSOC affairs attached to the permanent mission.

The Economic and Social Council is legally and politically subordinate to the Assembly and relies heavily upon the expertise of the Secretariat. Much of its work load springs directly from recommendations of the Assembly, and most of its important recommendations are referred to the Assembly for discussion and final action. The second and third committees of the Assembly serve as centers for detailed review of ECOSOC decisions. In making studies, reports, and recommendations, as well as providing opportunity for debate and discussion, ECOSOC contributes to the understanding of world economic and social problems. Yet, even here, much of the spadework is performed by the Secretariat and outside experts. Without unduly deprecating the role of the Council in instigating many valuable studies, clarifying issues through discussion and debate, and formulating useful recommendations, one can say fairly that the Secretariat lays much of the factual groundwork for discussion, and the General Assembly makes the final decisions.

ECOSOC is not without value to the United States as a window for observing how the other half lives and occasionally as a means of coming to grips with practical problems. With the shift of U.S.-Soviet rivalry in the direction of economic competition, it has achieved wider political significance. Neverthe-

less, in the catalog of instruments for implementation of United States foreign policy, the Economic and Social Council ranks far down the list. Despite Senator Sparkman's bland assertion to the fifth Assembly that the United States had always regarded ECOSOC as "the basic instrument through which the conditions of well-being essential to the maintenance of peace would be achieved throughout the world,"²⁰ the United States has consistently channeled outside the United Nations the lion's share of its efforts to promote the general welfare of other countries.

Many of the important issues discussed in ECOSOC pose real dilemmas for the United States. The multilateral approach to promotion of human rights, once so vigorously espoused by American representatives, has become almost a source of embarrassment. Discussions of economic development find the United States often on the defensive, forced constantly to reiterate reasons why substantially more American aid should not be distributed under UN auspices. Consideration of basic commodity marketing problems likewise has found the United States in an unenviable position because of unwillingness to accept the principle of inter-governmental controls and guarantees which many other governments think desirable. Related schemes like the establishment of a world food reserve—popular with so many members—have been unpalatable to the United States.

Voting majorities have been somewhat more difficult to obtain than in the Assembly or the Security Council because the issues are less directly concerned with international security—the field in which American influence is most pronounced.²¹ The interests of the majority—especially the underdeveloped majority—may not converge so readily with American interests. This was notably true during the summer session of ECOSOC, 1957, when the United States found itself on the short end of a 15-3 vote in favor of a greatly expanded UN program of economic aid to underdeveloped countries.²² Such a resounding defeat on a major issue in ECOSOC was extraordinary; it led to

²⁰*Official Records of the General Assembly*, 5th sess., 2d Committee, p. 61.

²¹Only a simple majority is required for an ECOSOC decision.

²²*Official Records of the Economic and Social Council*, 24th sess., p. 203.

subsequent revision of American policy toward UN economic development programs. But it represented the potential cleavage of interests between the United States, Britain, and France as principal donor countries, and the vast majority of underdeveloped countries and their sympathizers. Over-emphasizing the difficult issues and spectacular defeats can easily create an erroneous impression. The United States has proved capable of effective leadership in ECOSOC. On the issue of economic development American delegates have shown sympathy for the plight of underdeveloped countries and have often been able to win their votes by force of reason, mild pressures, or the argument that aid programs without American support are unrealistic. The fact remains, however, that the United States must often work hard to win support for its positions. Majorities can be won but they are fashioned through compromise and interspersed with occasional defeat.

Some issues before the Council are amenable to a voting division along East-West lines, and here the United States—as in the Assembly and Security Council—is usually able to marshal a substantial majority. Forced labor, infringement of trade union rights, Soviet radio jamming, and the Czech imprisonment of William N. Oatis are among the questions which have lent themselves to such a division. The membership of the 1959 Council, given below, shows the strength of the anti-communist bloc.

<i>Bloc</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Membership</i>	
	1954	1959
Afro-Asia	26.7	34.1
Latin-America	33.3	24.4
Western	26.7	25.6
Soviet bloc ¹	8.3	11.0
Non-bloc	5.0	4.9

If an issue between the United States and the Soviet Union is clearly drawn, with the political implications outweighing the economic or social, formal balloting would probably find 12 in support of the United States position, 3 opposed, and possibly 3 (Sudan, Afghanistan, Finland) abstaining. The Pro-Western vote would include all of the first two groups listed, plus Pakistan and China, both firmly tied to the Western orbit by economic aid and military alliances as well as more basic as-

pects of the national interest. Should economic and social factors overshadow the Cold War conflict, however, the voting pattern might be greatly altered.

The admission of new members to the United Nations has affected the political complexion of the Economic and Social Council very little. The membership has remained fixed at eighteen, despite growing clamor for increasing the number by Charter amendment. The bloc arrangement of the membership differs little from the pre-1955 pattern, as the table on the following page will show. Latin-American strength has remained constant, with four seats. The Western bloc strength has fluctuated slightly, but any change attributable to the admission of new members after 1955 is not significant. The Afro-Asian group, notwithstanding its enlarged membership in the Assembly, has not increased its representation on ECOSOC. The award of a third seat to the Soviet bloc for 1959 marks a return to a pattern followed in the first years of the organization.

As earlier noted, the role of ECOSOC in United States foreign policy has been altered somewhat by new trends in Russo-American rivalry. Debates have always been tinged with Cold War atmosphere—on some issues impregnated with it. In the past the result was not to make the body more important but to make its work more difficult and less productive. With so much of the Cold War now being shifted to the economic and social front, however, the activities of the Council have lately assumed a new importance for both the United States and the Soviet Union. The issues are much the same; only their significance has been changed. Final decisions are still made largely in the Assembly—and even these are not legally binding. But the United States is more concerned about the propaganda impact of ECOSOC activities. There is also concern lest ECOSOC programs and recommendations provide avoidable advantage to the Soviet Union in its efforts to penetrate the underdeveloped countries. Soviet awakening to the possibilities of UN economic programs stands out sharply in its policy reversal with respect to technical assistance. For years the Soviet Union boycotted UN technical assistance, refusing to contribute or support it in any way. In 1954 the attitude changed. Soviet techni-

cians were made available and annual pledges of four million rubles were redeemed. The rubles could be used only to purchase goods and services in Russia; Russian technicians followed Russian equipment; and a new wedge had been found to increase Soviet influence in underdeveloped countries, in addition to reducing slightly the overall flexibility of the UN technical assistance program. While final action on the broad outline of technical assistance is an Assembly prerogative, no stage of the battle, including the formative ECOSOC stage, is to be neglected. As the stakes of both propaganda and programs grow, so does the importance of the Council to the United States. The appointment in 1958 of a full-time officer for ECOSOC affairs, attached to the permanent mission, is an indication of the growing significance of this forum for United States foreign policy.

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council is the fourth major deliberative organ of the United Nations. At first appraisal it appears more as a limitation upon American policy than an instrument of it. The trusteeship system was designed primarily as a restraint upon states administering trust territories. It is a means by which other states can exert influence upon the government of the territories and their transition toward self-government. As conditions of trusteeship, the administering authorities must render annual reports and reply to questionnaires, submit to searching and often hostile questioning in the Trusteeship Council, accept periodic visiting missions to inspect their trust territories, and permit dissatisfied elements within the territories to petition the Trusteeship Council for redress of grievances. From the United States viewpoint, the trusteeship system provides an opening for other countries to pry into American administration of the Pacific Islands. Although this opening may serve as a stimulus to maintain high standards of administration, it is doubtful that American officials regard the trusteeship system as particularly helpful in their relations with the trust territory.

However, if the Trusteeship Council system gives others license to pry into American-administered territory, it also opens a legitimate avenue for American influence upon the colonial

policies of other countries. Friendly allies with dependent territories may resist suggestions tendered bilaterally as unwarranted interference in domestic affairs. Membership on the Trusteeship Council markedly alters the relationship. American advice on the government of dependent areas not only becomes legitimate because of the trustee relationship, but it also becomes more acceptable as fellow administering authorities seek grounds for mutual support in anticipation of the scrutiny to which their non-administering colleagues on the Trusteeship Council and in the Assembly will subject them. Through the UN trusteeship system the United States thus has a means of making its opinions felt in dependent areas for the good of the peoples and the peace of the world, both oft-avowed concerns of American foreign policy.

Given the existence of trusteeship system, the Trusteeship Council itself has been quite helpful to the colonial powers. Because its membership is equally divided between administering and non-administering states, no resolution can be adopted without the concurring vote or abstention of at least one of the administering authorities. Although the American delegate may sometimes cross the aisle to break a tie vote, the administering powers have ordinarily shown marked cohesiveness as a voting bloc. As a result, the split personality of the Council usually brings compromise and moderate action. The influence of the East-West struggle has on the whole reinforced the tendency toward moderation. Though the Soviet Union, with its permanent seat on the Trusteeship Council, has been critical and often abusive, the very excesses of Soviet vilification have sometimes led non-administering members to vote with the administering powers or abstain in order to avoid identification with the Soviet position.²³ This contrasts with the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, which has been a continual thorn in the flesh of administering powers with its overwhelming anti-colonial majority. Assuming the practical necessity of the trusteeship system with international supervision and accountability, the Trusteeship Council can be regarded as a

²³See James N. Mucray, Jr., *The United Nations Trusteeship System* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1957), pp. 241-43.

moderating influence or buffer between the colonial powers and the extremist tendencies of the Assembly.

THE SECRETARIAT

As one considers the United Nations as an instrument of policy, he cannot overlook the Secretariat. As an administrative organization, the Secretariat is allotted the tasks of servicing the vast number of formal meetings of UN organs and subsidiary bodies and implementing many of their recommendations. Formally, the Secretariat is responsible to the deliberative organs and to the Charter itself, not to individual member governments. As members of the organization, states of course benefit from general services which the Secretariat may provide. And members of the Secretariat often find themselves in a position to render more individualized assistance to delegates. In addition to numerous valuable studies and reports made generally available, the Secretariat may provide special briefings to delegations on request. The links of trust and confidence which they forge with UN representatives give them access to information which is not readily available elsewhere. Experience and recognized ability of some Secretariat officials make them valuable counselors. Resolution drafting services are available, out of which may come judicious suggestions for substantive provisions. Members of the Secretariat, including the Secretary-General, are available as mediators or impartial third parties in confidential efforts to resolve conflicts or aid delegations in compromising their differences. The Secretariat may even take the initiative in recommending approaches to the solution of difficult problems.

The Secretary-General is an especially useful negotiating agent between governments which do not communicate easily and frankly with one another. His impartial status and reputation for neutrality and integrity may win for him the trust of parties to a dispute who do not trust each other. In attempting to secure the release of imprisoned airmen, the Secretary-General was sent to probe the intentions of Communist China and thereby set in motion a chain of events leading to the release of the flyers. Frequently the Secretary-General has served as a bridge between the United States and Arab neutralists. Some Arab governments that are suspicious of alleged Western im-

perialism may be frank and more tractable in dealing with the Secretary-General as an intermediary. Dag Hammarskjöld's role in negotiating with Egypt for the deployment of UNEF and clearance of the Suez Canal was highly useful, if not indispensable, in furthering American policy objectives in the Middle East. In this instance the Secretariat served as an instrument for negotiation "among" and "for" governments with a high degree of success. The Secretariat may thus become a valuable adjunct of foreign policy when individual governments themselves cannot act effectively. The Secretary-General would certainly resent the implication that he was the "tool" of any one's foreign policy. He acts when he believes the objectives of the Charter will be promoted. Yet, in a broader sense, when his concept of Charter objectives coincides with the policy objectives of particular states he becomes an instrument of their policy. In this sense he has on many occasions served the United States well.

There are many important problems of international politics for which the United Nations offers no approach to a solution. For the United States the major demands of national security and prosperity are better met outside the organization. Yet each political organ of the United Nations offers its own special capabilities as an extension of diplomacy, a propaganda forum, a source of information, a center for international cooperation, a channel for influence or a means of coercion. Considered as one tool among many available to the United States for dealing with limited aspects of international conflict and cooperation, it modestly fulfills the intent of its founders in extending the ultimate reach of policy.



Water Color: "Trinity," Conan Mathews.

Blanco-Fombona and Hispanic Cultural Unity

ERNEST J. WILKINS

Blanco-Fombona, the Venezuelan polygraph, was one of the most outspoken and passionate defenders of the Hispanic cause among that illustrious generation of Latin Americans called the *noventistas*. Some of the modernist poets, who were his contemporaries, are perhaps better known, but no voice was more sincere nor more influential than his in the *hispanidad* movement which reached its zenith during the years 1895-1915. The white heat of his passions for those things he loved and those things he hated sets him apart from all the Latin American intellectuals of his time. He loved Bolivar the Liberator and forever praised his idealistic dream of a unified Latin America. He hated caudillos and dictators, especially one Venezuelan dictator—Juan Vicente Gómez, whom he called "Juan Bizonte" in his unceasing attacks against him. He loved *la raza española*, especially the conquistadores and the great family of nations which they brought into being, and he hated "yankees and yankee imperialism" perhaps more than any Latin American. With the possible exception of his kindly attitude toward Spain, his aspirations and objections are the same as those expressed by thousands of students and intellectuals in Latin America today. In this respect he is very modern.

As to the role of these intellectuals and their attitude towards the United States, Frank Tannenbaum recently observed that

... vis-a-vis the United States there is a community of public opinion, south of the border which is well nigh a unanimity, and to no small degree this is the work of the intellectuals. They have moulded the Latin American Community and have indirectly had a great influence on the political attitudes of their community toward the United States. These intellectuals

Dr. Wilkins is associate professor of modern languages at Brigham Young University.

are really caught in a world where their major role is that of critic.¹

This notion certainly applies to Blanco-Fombona. He wrote novels, poetry, short stories, all types of essays, and editorials, but his chief role is that of a critic who at least expresses, if not molds, public opinion. He is a *pensador* whose great ideal was to unite the Hispanic peoples in order to withstand the onslaught of "yankee imperialism."

Why was he so uncompromising in his attitude toward the United States? What was the exact nature of the unity which he envisioned for his compatriots? How did he really feel about Hispanic American Unity? The analysis of these attitudes, sentiments, and passions in the work of Blanco-Fombona leads generally into the field of literature and specifically into that phase of it known as *pensamiento*, an extremely effective tool for the study of what H. K. Silvert has recently called the "emotional commonwealth"² of Latin America.

Blanco-Fombona needed little encouragement to hate the yankees. He spent several years as a student in the United States, and on one occasion became involved in a street brawl which cost him dearly. A rather inebriated New Yorker had made insulting remarks about his Spanish accent and the fight was on. A New York newspaper says:

Mr. Fombona struck out right and left, assaulted four people with his cane, and broke the arm of policeman Fowler. He was taken to court, and fined, and paid the sum of \$2,000.³

Were he not a man of great moral principles, one might be led to believe that his hatred for the United States stemmed from the loss of such a large sum of money. However, he had much deeper reasons.

Did Blanco-Fombona believe that the Hispanic race was superior in the Hegelian sense? Probably not. What he really wanted was to halt the progress which Anglo-Saxon culture was making in places like Puerto Rico, Texas, the Philippines, and

¹Frank Tannenbaum, "Toward an Appreciation of Latin America," *The United States and Latin America*, ed. Herbert L. Mathews (New York: The American Assembly, 1959), p. 56.

²H. K. Silvert, "Political Change in Latin America," *The United States and Latin America*, ed. Herbert L. Mathews (New York: The American Assembly, 1959), p. 61.

³Andrés González Blanco, *Escritores representativos de América* (Madrid: Editorial América, 1917), p. 91.

Cuba. Many times he cited, as an example, Texas, where Spanish was no longer spoken, and referred to the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico and the Philippines as being "wounded in the heart."⁴

The appearance of a book, *The Americanization of the World*, was occasion for Blanco-Fombona to break out in bitter protest. The author was Mr. Stead of England, who sought to strengthen the ties among the English-speaking peoples and point out the growing influence of American ideas, books, newspapers, religion, as well as political and economic power. Blanco-Fombona protested against the claim with respect to American culture, saying that American newspapers were distinctly inferior and that American literature was not even influential in the Hawaiian Islands. He was pleased to note that Mr. Stead considered the "least Americanized area" of the world to be South America, but then warned that the United States was already asking for strips of land on either side of the future canal in Panama.

They threaten us from every side and our greatest weakness is in the disunity which characterizes our race. I do not ask Americans to regress to the fetus stage and to breathe through the umbilical cord which Simon Bolivar cut many years ago, but isn't it possible to bring together the peoples of the Spanish race from both worlds?⁵

Although he placed emphasis on the need for unity in order to combat the Anglo-Saxon race, he certainly did not think that the Hispanic race was inferior. He insisted that "as for the United States we are not inferior to them in anything except mechanical inventions and we have the advantage over them as far as artistic sentiment is concerned."

He pointed out also that it was not just one party or group in the United States that constituted the danger. "All these people have only one national characteristic. The enemy of America is the United States."⁶

He did not hesitate, however, to make a personal attack on

⁴Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "A propósito del premio Nobel otorgado a España en la persona de Benavente," *Motivos y letras de España* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1930), p. 79.

⁵Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "La americanización del mundo," *Letras y letrados de América* (París: Sociedad de Ediciones Literarias y Artísticas, 1908), p. 170.

⁶Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "Norteamérica de origen inglés contra Latino

McKinley, President of the United States during the Spanish-American War, which brought embarrassment to the Hispanic peoples.

Odio a McKinley porque es un conquistador sin correr peligros, un asesino de levita; porque ha abierto la ambición del imperialismo yanqui, porque sus manos de verdugo señalan a la codicia del norte nuestra gran patria de Hispanoamérica. Le abomino porque hummilló a nuestra raza, hummillando a España. Le odio porque es odioso.⁷

During his younger days as a politician and administrator in the provinces of Venezuela, Blanco-Fombona distinguished himself as a fiery defender of liberty and equality. His defiance of the Gómez regime earned him frequent imprisonment, and eventually led to official and permanent banishment from Venezuela. He turned to literature early, pouring out his invective for the dictators and caudillos but also writing some of his finest poetry before leaving Venezuela.

As a political exile, he chose to spend the greater part of his life in Spain. Upon arriving there in 1912, he at once established a publishing firm (Editorial América) in which he published over the years hundreds of volumes by Latin American authors.⁸

He waged an incessant campaign in newspapers, journals, essays and private conversations for a reconciliation between Spain and Latin America. His principal contribution in this respect was in making Latin American literature available to the Spaniards and in defending Spain against her detractors in the New World.

Blanco-Fombona had little patience with those who sought to organize Hispanic unity on the basis of official delegates to an international congress. What he advocated most enthusiastically was a permanent cultural commission for the diffusion of Spanish culture. He claimed that Spain had never spent enough money to promote cultural institutes and adds a new idea to the Alberdi doctrine of *gobernar es poblar*. He would

américa de origen español, *Obras selectas*, ed. by Gabaldón Márques (Madrid: Edime, 1958), p. 1140.

⁷Rufino Blanco-Fombona, *La lámpara de Aladino* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1915), p. 402.

⁸Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "El libro español," *Motivos y letras de España* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1930), p. 121.

change that dictum to read *gobernar es divulgar la lengua*. Spain had a cultural mission to accomplish in America. She should occupy a place similar to that which Rome had with respect to the Mediterranean world.⁹ In order to accomplish this mission, Spain should undertake a serious cultural rejuvenation and publish more great books which would attract the attention of the Hispanic republics of the New World.

In spite of this type of criticism, he constantly defended Spain and worked for unity among the Hispanic nations. On one occasion some enthusiastic Chileans and Argentines had claimed that Spaniards were stagnant and scoffed at what they called *bolgazanería española*. Blanco-Fombona the knight errant of truth then countered, that *bolgazanería española* worked mines in Bilbao, cultivated vineyards in la Mancha and Aragón, raised cattle in Andalucía and engaged in all kinds of industries in Cataluña and Valencia.

At one moment in the history of the *bolgazanería española* our grandfathers drove the moors out of the peninsula, discovered, conquered, and colonized America, carried the Spanish flag to Africa and Asia, and opening its arms in Europe with a heroic and magnificent gesture, placed one hand over Flanders and the other over Naples.¹⁰

To those Spanish critics like Julio Casares—who believed that America owes spiritual vassalage to Spain because it speaks her language—Blanco-Fombona replied that the language belongs to both peoples equally. Both Spain and Latin America have inherited it from their grandparents.¹¹ Latin American intellectuals are as concerned about keeping the language pure as the Spaniards.

Some Spaniards claimed that Latin America had no literature because it was merely an extension of Spanish literature. He pointed out that those who believed this idea are not acquainted with certain plants, for instance the banana plant, which produces in turn completely new plants, independent of the former ones. They give their own fruit, owing their growth

⁹Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "Persistirá el espíritu de España en el nuevo tipo de cultura que se está creando en América?" *Motivos y letras de España* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1930), p. 69.

¹⁰Andrés González Blanco, *Escritores representativos de América* (Madrid: Editorial América, 1917), p. 111.

¹¹Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "Persistirá el espíritu de España en el nuevo tipo de cultura que se está creando en América?" *op. cit.*, p. 69.

only to the land, the air, the rain, and their own fruitful nature.¹²

To those Spaniards who claimed that Latin Americans were barbarians, Blanco-Fombona countered that the only difference between the peninsular Spaniards and the Latin Americans was a matter of progress. "We are children of the French Revolution," he says.

We are the beginning of a new race which comes from Spanish roots placed in new soil. But those who have contributed most to the evolution of our language in the New World were persons not only saturated with foreign literatures; they also were intimately acquainted with the Spanish classics: José Martí, for example, Gutiérrez Nájera, José Asunción, Silva, Darío, and Casal.¹³

For Blanco-Fombona, the Modernist Movement in Latin America was the literary declaration of independence. When asked if he thought that political independence had brought as a natural consequence liberation from Spanish thought, he replied that when a people achieves political independence it is because their thinking is already independent. He maintained that two distinct literatures could exist in the same language and claimed that the literature was bringing new tones from the "old European instrument." In addition to the revolutionary spirit, he said,

traemos el culto de la forma, el amor de las cosas elegantes, una prosa dinámica y unos versos sin la vieja elocuencia campanuda, unos versos descoyuntados, gráciles, ágiles . . . y por último debe cargarse en nuestro deber la sensibilidad, es decir, una intensa emoción estética, lo mismo que la ternura y el sensualismo en el arte.¹⁴

This is what Unamuno meant when he declared that the Spanish language was saying things in America that it had never said in Spain.

Blanco-Fombona wanted unity on his own terms. He felt that if Spain and Latin America were going to be brought closer together there must be more recognition in Spain for the

¹²Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "Le ciudadanía literaria de España" *Motivos y letras de España* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1930), p. 27.

¹³Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "La cuestión del neo-español," *Letras y letrados de Hispanoamérica* (Paris: Sociedad de Ediciones Literarias y Artísticas, 1908), p. 131.

¹⁴Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "El aporte de América a la literatura," *Obras selectas*, ed. by Gabaldón Márquez (Madrid: Edime, 1958), p. 1086.

accomplishments of the Latin American Republics. His desire for unity with Spain was superseded only by his fanatic devotion to his own American culture.

Blanco-Fombona never spoke as a Venezuelan but rather as a citizen of that great emotional commonwealth which he called *la patria grande*. "Nunca he sido patriota lugareño . . ." he said.

The problem of race is above the problem of nationalities. Blood is the strongest tie between peoples and . . . as for me, a spiritual heir to the ideas of Bolívar who wanted and claimed the whole of America as his native land, I have always been a fervent americanist. Literarily I have never made the slightest distinction between my republic and the sister republics. I am a compatriot of all the ibero-americans. I should like never to be called a Venezuelan author, but rather an American author.¹⁵

He then concludes in his characteristic style:

. . . Yo no escribo para los cuatro gatos de mi país. Escribo para sesenta millones de Américo-latinos y veintitantos millones de Españoles. Mi patriotismo es un sentimiento de raza.¹⁶

Ricardo Rojas, himself a great hispanophile, once wrote that although the republics of the New World lived in relative geographic and economic isolation there exists among the men of letters a solidarity similar to that which existed among the compatriots of Independence days. He felt that their common language was the foundation for this cultural brotherhood, and because of this unity, Hispanic American thought was destined to have increasing power in the future. Upon reading these prophetic and fraternal words, Blanco-Fombona stated that he closed his eyes and with his thoughts gave "un abrazo y un apretón de manos a ese Ricardo Rojas que no conozco."¹⁷ He didn't know Ricardo Rojas, and had not looked up his genealogy, but he accepted him immediately as a brother because he understood him so completely.

Blanco-Fombona naively stated that since the majority of the people are engaged in pastoral, mining, and agricultural pursuits, they do not have and do not need a great interchange of commercial products. However, he claimed that the republics of Latin America which are quite isolated commercially

¹⁵Rufino Blanco-Fombona, *Letras y letrados de Hispanoamérica* (Paris: Sociedad de Ediciones literarias y artísticas, 1908), p. 4.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 6.

speaking, are united and tied together by art and literature. "How can one deny," he said, "the Hispanic American Nationality with respect to Letters?"¹⁸

Blanco-Fombona did not hesitate to point out his preference for Spanish racial characteristics as a basis for the cultural unity which he sought. He claimed that the roots of the present culture in Latin America are exclusively Spanish, although on the branches there have been grafted other complimentary cultures.

In *El espíritu de Bolívar*, one of the many volumes he wrote on the same theme, Fombona saw Bolívar, the greatest of all Americans, as a person whose soul is essentially Spanish. He was proud and dignified, but above all *un pasional*, like so many Spaniards. The all-consuming passion of his life was, of course, his desire to liberate America from Spain, and even this anti-Spanish attitude is considered typically Spanish by Blanco-Fombona. Bolívar prided himself on being as idealistic as Don Quijote or even Christ himself. On one occasion he came upon a group of his soldiers who were complaining that they had nothing to read. When Bolívar found among their books copies of *Gil Blas* and *Don Quijote* he remarked that they didn't need anything else. "Here you have man as he is, and man as he ought to be."¹⁹

Blanco-Fombona continued to show that Bolívar had all the character traits possessed by El Cid and other authentic representatives of the Spanish soul. Speaking of his great personal pride, Blanco-Fombona recalled Bolívar's aide de camp, a young athletic soldier, who in order to show his skill and agility jumped over his horse *de cola a cabeza*. Not to be out-done Bolívar had to try it too. On the first try he did not clear the horse's head and fell to the ground in a heap. On the second try the same thing happened, but he persisted and on the third try he finally made it. For Fombona, this indicates essentially the same traits which the great conquistadores possessed.²⁰

In his insistence on pure Hispanic culture Blanco-Fombona found himself at odds with some of the most outstanding thinkers of his own time. For González Prada and José Carlos Mari-

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Rufino Blanco-Fombona, *El espíritu de Bolívar* (Caracas: Impresores Unidos, 1943), p. 13.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 13.

átegui of Peru and others, the Indians played a dominant role in Spanish American heritage while Blanco-Fombona tended to minimize or ignore them. He was much more interested in the contribution of the conquistadores and the valiant Spaniards.

In his beautiful poem "To Roosevelt," Ruben Darío recalls for the benefit of the "Yankee invaders" the glories of Latin America's poetic tradition. He extols the virtues of Netzahualcoyotl and Montezuma, but according to Fombona omits the great names of the Spanish race.

... No, beloved poet, when you wish to command respect from the enemies of America, of our America, you cannot leave out Bolívar, Sucre, San Martín, Miranda, Hidalgo, Santander, Carrera and Morazán. The Indians might be part of the poetic legendary tradition but not the legend and the poetry of the America which we call Spanish America, but rather of that land they used to call *Las Indias*. I prefer 100 times over, Hernán Cortez triumphant to Montezuma conquered, and I believe that Pizarro crossing the Andes with a hand full of adventurers is 100 times more worthy of epic and legend than Atahualpa falling from the throne in the midst of his decimated empire.²¹

In many ways his ideas are similar to those expressed later by José Vasconcelos in *La raza cósmica*. However, Vasconcelos claimed that the days of the pure white races were numbered, and the new fifth race of America would be superior because it was a combination of many peoples. Blanco-Fombona, speaking about the political problems of Venezuela, declared that there was no hope for Venezuela unless she decided as soon as possible to become a cacaasian race. He did not want to destroy the Indians and Negroes because "they are our brothers," but he said, "hay que blanquearlos por constantes cruzamientos."²²

It would appear that Blanco-Fombona did not represent the majority when he spoke of the Catholic Church and the common religion of his people, although some of the modernists of his day had the same attitude. He was avowedly an atheist and agreed heartily with Santos Chocano who said that in order to combat their enemies they should not count on God or anyone

²¹Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "El peligro de América y el augurio de la poesía," *Letras y letrados de Hispanoamérica* (Paris: Sociedad de Ediciones literarias y artísticas, 1908), p. 39.

²²Rufino Blanco-Fombona, *La lámpara de Aladino* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1915), p. 493.

but themselves. Again he disagreed with Darío who had claimed that the "yankee invaders" had everything except God, and implied, according to Fombona, that God was therefore on the side of the Hispanic race. Fombona reminded his compatriots that Catholic Spain counted on God, and her flag was swept from the sea by Protestant cannons. If we wish to become lost without hope of salvation, we should trust only in God, the Eternal Ally of the rich and strong.²³ He explained that the modernists of his day had not only cast aside the old verse forms of the Spaniards but in addition, "hemos desterrado de nuestras canciones a Dios, ese fantasma obsediante del espíritu medioeval de España."²⁴

For a more representative philosophy of life he turned to stoicism and to Bolívar, the living example of his ideal. In *El espíritu de Bolívar* he said that if the religion of the majority is Catholicism, the philosophy of the better ones is "senequismo estoico y viril"—or, as he paraphrased—"In whatever situation you find yourself, never forget that you are a man."²⁵

Blanco-Fombona was frankly disappointed with a whole generation of Argentine thinkers who by their own admission had not wanted anything in common with the Americans of their own origin, language, race, and culture. Argentines refer to other Latin Americans as *gente de tierra caliente* while their foreign minister in Spain says, "We are the continuation of Europe." He implied, as Blanco-Fombona said, that the rest of Latin America is the continuation of Africa. They believe that there are only two nations on the continent who can be taken seriously—the United States and Argentina.²⁶ It was inevitable that Fombona should cross pens with the Argentines—traditional defenders of San Martín against Bolívar. One might claim that by engaging in this nationalistic debate he might be censured for disturbing unity were it not for the fact that he has so clearly defined the Argentine position of his day.

If Fombona felt resentment toward the Argentine rebels, he

²³Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "El peligro de América y el augurio de la poesía," *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁵Rufino Blanco-Fombona, *El espíritu de Bolívar* (Caracas: Impresores Unidos, 1943), p. 15.

²⁶Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "Sarmiento," *Obras selectas*, ed. by Gabaldón Márquez (Madrid: Edime, 1958), p. 1027.

only had pity when he spoke of the problems of Puerto Rico.

There they have passed from the yoke of the Spaniards to the yoke of another power. Only that part of the island which is opposed to the yankee domination can represent the free spirit of America. The only men who can look the rest of us in the face are those like Hostos and José de Diego who have remained loyal to our ideology. Those who join with the oppressors are traitors. Bolivar and San Martin would have shot them.²⁷

For Blanco-Fombona, then, Hispanic cultural unity is based on what he feels they have in common—their language, the Spanish race, the literary tradition, their religion or philosophy of life, their heritage from the conquistadores, and lastly their common enemy. In the face of what they foresaw as certain invasion by the yankees, the Latin Americans would have little difficulty in overcoming their small differences.

In most of Latin America today *hispanidad* is a lost cause. Few Latin Americans look to Spain for leadership in politics, economics, or even cultural affairs. But no matter how dead the cause may be because of political and economic difficulties, those who seek the common denominator of Hispanic culture must of necessity look to Spain as Blanco-Fombona did. He was aware of Spain's internal problems in his own day and projected them accurately into the future. Ironically enough, he foresaw clearly that the diffusion of the Spanish language and the culture of the Hispanic race was very closely related to the economic and commercial expansion of the Latin American Republics.

²⁷Rufino Blanco-Fombona, "La voz del ventrílocuo," *Obras Selectas*, ed. by Gabaldón Márquez (Madrid: Edime, 1958), p. 1134.



Water Color: "Angular Patterns," Conan Mathews.

Director's Foreword To "The Mantle of the Prophet"

LAEL J. WOODBURY

Because it presents, in exceptionally imaginative and mature language, an event of genuine significance, *The Mantle of the Prophet* is a provocative, exciting poetry drama. Not only does it illumine a seldom-dramatized segment of critical Mormon history, it does so in a way that the audience will feel deeply and think carefully about what it sees and hears. This mental and emotional involvement thus requires the spectator to review the controversy, and to make a personal, not merely a traditional, decision about its merits. Soon, it is hoped, the spectator brings his immediate spiritual convictions into harmony with that decision, and stands firm as one convinced by experience rather than precept only. This conviction cannot always be had simply by studying the objective facts of history. The function of the drama, which *The Mantle of the Prophet* fulfills so well, is to give flesh and especially blood—vividness, humanness—to an action. The function of the drama's director is, midwife-like, to see that this illuminating poetic creation is brought to dynamic life on the stage.

From my, a director's, viewpoint, *The Mantle of the Prophet*, like every ambitious drama, has unique problems—problems which frequently derive from the play's most distinctive merits. This drama is unlike the usual twentieth-century play; it aims to present, rather than represent, the characters and action which it depicts. The characters here are generally types, composites of historically accurate attitudes and convictions, and the language they use is exquisitely organized, sublime in its elegance and purity. What is said, and how it is said, seems infinitely more important than who says it. Sometimes, for example, certain characters are not even identified by name for the audience.

Dr. Woodbury is associate professor of speech and dramatic arts at Brigham Young University.

This presentational characteristic suggests to me that the "poem" can be presented formally, in concert style, with costumes of evening dress for the actors. But concert reading frequently becomes so stilted and pretentious that I decided to stage the play, exploiting its presentational quality whenever impressed to do so. This decision permitted me more strongly to appeal to the audience's sense of vision, so that its ear could be disciplined and made to comprehend what the playwright intended.

The unusually lengthy speeches, for instance, obviously require much stage movement to obviate the monotony engendered by a single voice. The designer, Mr. Charles Henson, created the setting, shown on the accompanying drawing, with its low, wide platforms, for the specific purpose of promoting much movement by the actors. With its single dominant elevation it also provides areas for strong emphasis and interesting picturization.

This is a "space setting," a permanent structure which becomes any place at any time. The audience discovers the scene's locale from the actor's dialogue. But in this play locale is not important. The idealized events occur in an idealized region, whether it is described as a living room, a chapel, or somewhere in the Milky Way. In what room did the Council in Heaven take place, or the agony of Job, or the conversion of Hyrum Smith? This quality of timelessness was enhanced by painting the setting marine blue, splattered with yellow, magenta, and grey.

The lighting, in pools of blue, magenta, and chocolate, was heavily shadowed, and created memorable moments of emphasis and especially mood. At the end of the play, a special light was directed to two white copies of the *Bible* and the *Book of Mormon* which were left on the stage by Sidney Rigdon. Colored photographs of modern art, chosen to represent the emotions of dominant characters, were projected on a screen at the rear of the stage.

Symphonic mood music was used repeatedly. I considered for some time the use of L.D.S. hymns, but rejected this thought because it seemed to suggest more typical approaches to Church drama, and *The Mantle of the Prophet* is unique. At

the end of Act I cricket sounds were used to develop the evening mood, and thunder effects were used sparingly when referred to in the script.

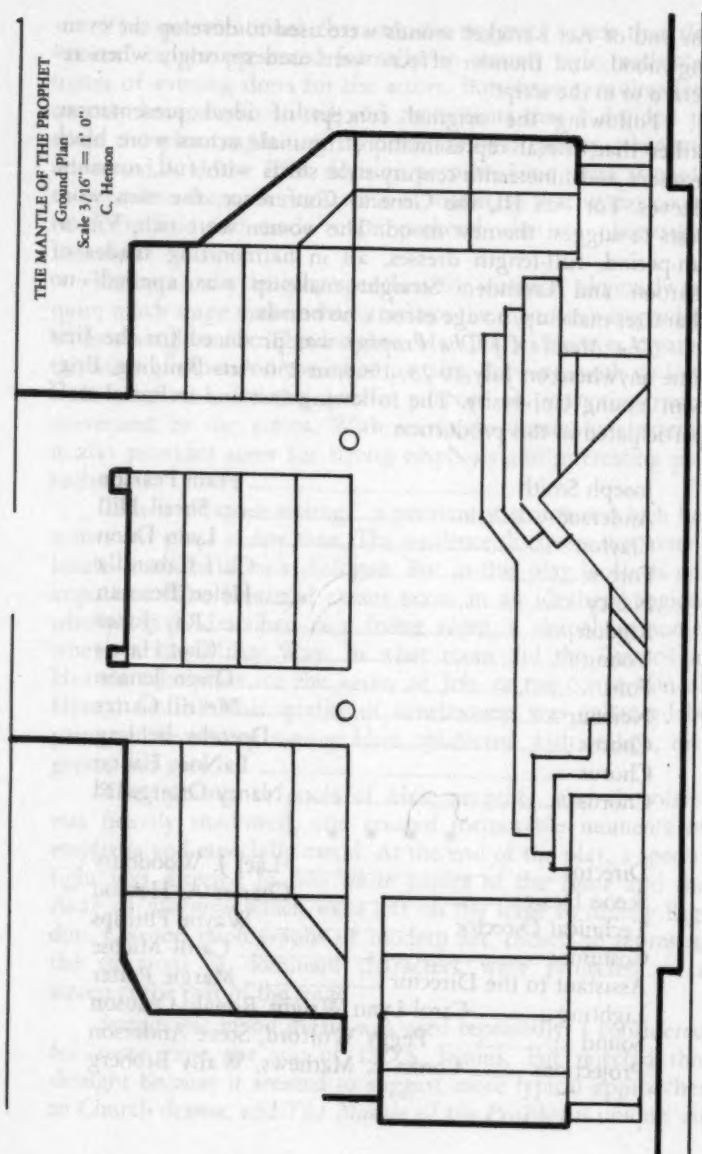
Following the original concept of ideal presentation, rather than literal representation, the male actors wore black trousers and nineteenth-century-style shirts with full, romantic sleeves. For Act III, the General Conference, the men wore vests to suggest the new mood. The women wore rich, Victorian-period, full-length dresses, all in harmonizing shades of maroon and lavender. Straight make-up was applied—no character make-up, no age effects, no beards.

The Mantle Of The Prophet was produced for the first time anywhere on July 19-23, 1960, in 250 Arts Building, Brigham Young University. The following cast and technical staff participated in this production.

Joseph Smith	Frain Pearson
Anderson	Sheril Hill
Clayton	Lynn Dunn
Forbes	Cliff Cabanilla
Nancy	Helen Beaman
Rigdon	Ray Jones
Young	Chet Harris
Ford	Owen Jenson
Neibaur	Merrill Carter
Chorus	Dorothy Behling
Chorus	LaNore Hilton
Chorus	Nancy Ostergaard

* * * * *

Director	Lael J. Woodbury
Scene Design	Charles A. Henson
Technical Director	Wayne Phillips
Costumer	Carol Michie
Assistant to the Director	Margie Potter
Lighting	Carol Lynn Wright, Ronald Olason
Sound	Peggy Wolford, Steve Anderson
Projections	Conan E. Mathews, Wally Broberg



The Mantle of the Prophet

A Poetry Drama

by

CLINTON F. LARSON

Characters

Joseph Smith
Hyrum Smith
John Anderson
William Clayton
Stephen Forbes
Dr. Richards
Nancy Dayton
Sidney Rigdon

Brigham Young
Governor Ford
Thomas Hammond
William Marks
Levi Neibaur
Carthage Greys
Mob
Congregation

Act I

(Scene: Carthage, Illinois, at the time of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. Joseph Smith, Hyrum, Dr. Richards, and other captive leaders are seen being brought from Carthage Jail before the Carthage Greys. Joseph, wearing a mantle, walks in the midst of the Greys though it is obvious that they want to kill him. He locks arms with some of them; Hyrum joins him. After a few moments of the derision of the Greys, Joseph and Hyrum withdraw to their friends.)

JOSEPH: I come to this hour through the meadows of spring.
No more can be done.

(He is seen in an identifiable stance that on August 8, 1844, is naturally assumed by Brigham Young, who receives "the mantle of the prophet.")

Some of you will die with me.

Prepare yourselves, brethren: only our blood

Will slake their thirst; you see them

Ready under the wavering restraints of the Governor.

Dr. Larson is associate professor of English at Brigham Young University, managing editor of *Brigham Young University Studies*, and president of the National Federation of State Poetry Societies. *The Mantle of the Prophet*, copyright, 1960, Clinton F. Larson. Cf. *Documentary History of the Church*.

Prepare yourselves, brethren, though our going
 Will be easier than you imagine. Last night
 I had a dream, and saw again my Kirtland farm.
 It was covered with weeds and brambles
 And I knew it was lost to me; the windows of the
 house

Were empty and wore the countenance of night.
 It was all strange: I entered the barn
 Through broken doors and the floors were gone;
 Behind me, then, the clamor of many men
 Who came into the barn and said
 That nothing was mine, the land nor the barn,
 The harvest nor home, nothing,
 And I wept; I said, "The Church gave it to me,"
 And they said nothing was mine.
 "It belongs to me or the Church," I said.
 Their faces turned the color of ash and char
 And they turned upon me and said,
 "Neither to you nor the Church."
 "Take it," I said and walked between them,
 Out of the barn. It had been raining
 And I walked about in the mud;
 And I was away from home, even as I am
 Now: behind, the knives and the screaming;
 Ahead, the imperative Christ of my mission.
 Home is not yet though we are in Zion;
 Prophecy has made us, but what must follow?
 Around me, my brethren; though we die,
 We do not; to serve the Lord and His will
 Is like the gift of the nativity, though from that
 moment
 He strode to the cross and the centuries of redemption.
 Fix the time; the Greys in their hate lift us to Zion.
 My conscience is the covenant of my being
 Before God and before all men.

*(They leave under guard and the Greys disperse. The lights
 dim slowly. Then two Mormons, John Anderson and William
 Clayton, enter alone.)*

ANDERSON: We still have time. Robert and Frank will

help. There are many others.

CLAYTON: He went willingly, John. He could have saved himself many times.

ANDERSON: But he needs to be saved from himself.

He is hardly older than we; martyrdom
Is for the old, who may fulfill their lives.
The Church is a loose web, and the gales
Of our time will rend it if he leaves us now.
Europe has heard him, the migration begins:
Our people come; where his mantle is, the people
Come; it covers them with the light of the grove.
We stand here, impotent, and let him die.

CLAYTON: You have known it would come to this
Since you first heard of him: all is well.

ANDERSON: So quickly has he come to this that I wonder
That it was not yesterday his work began.
He has been many things to many men.
Consider, Clayton: he has given himself up
And nothing is solved; as before, nothing.
If they were to draw his corpse through the towns
Of Illinois behind a wagon to bump and roll
Through mud and filth, our enemies would not
change.

Those whom he satisfied are those for whom
He has become an instrument, for long ago,
When the Church was new and he old from the
malediction

Of those who would call his witness an illusion,
He saw it was useless ever to be known apart
From the Church, and so he would have it,
Though he should lose everything for that identity.
His strength or weakness is the Church.
Even you and I could face them, armed;
They circle and wait, painted and slaving;
The cowards are assembled, and I weary of them.
Let us ride into them, swinging and striking;
I am galled if I cannot.

(Clayton remains back.)

Then at least me!

(Several shots can be heard.)

Then I have waited and talked, talked and waited,
And Joseph is gone. Like a thin mist,
I swirl about my words and they condemn me.
Joseph! *(He stands with his face down; the movements of his body indicate he is sobbing.)*

CLAYTON: "He was despised and rejected of men;
A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief:
And we hid our faces from him;
He was despised, and we esteemed him not.
Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows:
Yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.
But he was wounded for our transgressions,
He was bruised for our iniquities. . . .
The Lord had laid on him the iniquity of us all."
We could have done nothing: we have wandered
For freedom and have not found it.
See, the swallow wheels and is gone,
But in our minds we follow it steadily
In a beam of light. The light leaps
About us now, the times change: I have seen
My hands harden in Illinois and you
Straighten for some great toil. We change,
Gain in our loneliness, lonelier still.
In the dry sand I have seen the fragile flower
Thrive; spiritual red and gold, blown
And burned in the white glare:
It means the rigor of Israel from Egypt.
All is well: Joseph has brought us
Out of ourselves, and in us Zion
Sings.

ANDERSON: Now Brigham will come home; he will ask
who let Joseph die. I will show him. We have become
women, full of sweet protestation.

(Stephen Forbes runs in, the mantle of the Prophet in his hands, with a few other things, including a Bible and a Book of Mormon.)

FORBES: I was able to get a few things. Some of the others have Joseph. He sprang to the window; but just as he was preparing to jump, he saw such an array of bayonets below, that he caught by the window casing, where he hung by his hands and feet, with his head to the north, feet to the south, and his body swinging downwards. He hung in that position three or four minutes, during which time he cried, two or three times, "O Lord, My God!!!" and, wounded to death, fell to the ground. While he was hanging in that position, Colonel Williams shouted, "Shoot him! God damn him! Shoot the damned rascal!" But no one fired. He seemed to fall easy. He struck partly on his right shoulder and back, his neck and head reaching the ground before his feet. He rolled on his face. Then they shot him. He was taken by one of them, who sprang to him from the other side of the fence, who held a pewter pipe in his hand, and was barefoot and bareheaded. He set Joseph against the south side of the well curb, a little way from the jail. He cried, "This is old Joe; I know him. I know you, Old Joe. Damn you." Then he got a bowie knife to cut off Joseph's head and raised it to strike, but a light from the heavens burst upon Joseph, and between him and his murderers, and held them off. The hand with the knife fell powerless. The muskets of the four who had fired at Joseph fell to the ground, and everyone stood like stone. It was then that I went forward.

ANDERSON: We heard the shots, and you bring trinkets. We could have saved him.

FORBES: Joseph knew what was coming; we could not withstand him. But we have him and will bury him secretly.

ANDERSON: Take him home, to Nauvoo.

CLAYTON: Brother Forbes, what about Hyrum?

FORBES: Hyrum is dead. The others are wounded.

CLAYTON: Brother Young is in Boston,

But now the campaign is ended.

He must come west again;

The migrant must come home for Joseph.

What is to be done? The women will weep;

Their desolation will frame our days

And empty our homes. The aged woman
Will ask, "Have they killed my sons?"
Sorrow will lie in their homes and vanquish the city.
It was to be in their time and in ours.
Sorrow will vanquish the warmth of our people
And make us wander, watchers of the sky.
They have brought us from the childhood
Of our listening and wonderinng, and they give us
the staff,
The mantle, the discontent. The women shall weep,
And as deep as their sorrow runs so must our will.
We shall reach with their sorrow
As Joseph reached with prayer:
What is to be done? But it will be done,
Full of silence: the grass of the land
Harkens, bends tumultuously, dies. The ice
Comes in November; winter shall save us,
And we shall move as one, breaking the cold will
That keeps us less than we are.

FORBES: I see clouds over the land, like cotton,
Blown: the wheelwright walks among them
With the mantle of Joseph. Take it and keep it, John.

ANDERSON: If I could hold it, I would think him near.

(He takes the mantle.)

I take his night, his covering

THE VOICE OF

JOSEPH: O light of morning, light of spring,
Shining sunstream in the glade,
Vision of my prayer. . . .

ANDERSON: City of darkness, the crossed staves,
The murmuring streets: the houses hunch
Behind the sagging gates; the orchards
Shudder in the squalor of death.
Where shall he be taken? Not even among his people
Shall his grave be known; the wolves follow the scent
And circle him. They wink in the darkness.

THE VOICE OF

JOSEPH: From the millenium of death, in the center of light,
I read, "If any of ye lack wisdom, let him ask of God,

Who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not,
And it shall be given him."

ANDERSON: If not in his life, in what can one believe?

The word and prophecy embody themselves,
And when they fail, I honor a wraith.

The wraiths of history evaporate in the real glare
That he withstood, until now. I have sought

The eternal prophet of the last days in the mansions

And gardens of Palestine, John, who lives,

But like the gift of frankincense and myrrh

Around the Savior. In an ancient temple

He called me aside, murmuring:

"If I tarry till he come, what is that to thee?

On the threshold of evening I speak to him:

The shaper of wood I know, him of the adze and
plane,

Of the earth and the fountain, abroad in the glen

For the bole and the staff, or before the sepulchre,

Awaiting the redemption of ancient time.

Now the sceptre of evening, the evening star,

The alcove where the voices gather him, questioning;

The hush of evening, as if were held the rose

Of the shadow, blooming and breathing among them

The infinite: Follow Me.

On whom the sceptre falls, on him the shade of life,

To remain in the trial as the vane of the Ghost.

Now the work of days is ended, and the shore where

I found him shines with the resurrection:

Where the sand gleams from the sea, my life is;

Where the waves vanish, I strive;

From the wood of Olivet he came, so I tarry there,

At the high wall, before the coincidence of death."

John kept me in my time, and I possess only

The mantle of Joseph. Shall I hold it

As if to encompass him or let it billow

With his ghost? Shall I keep his artifacts

And build a museum with the faggots of my will?

Shall I split the doctrinal rails and freight them

Through my mind like some crabbed schoolman

- Thick with his own security? I shall carry
Joseph's mantle in the womb of night.
- FORBES: Let us carry him home to Nauvoo.
- CLAYTON: The maelstrom breathes the night wind:
In the vortex and vales of the land
The death's head glimmers,
Careening, suspended, wildly searching.
Spirit in us that is all we should have been
And yet is the aspect of our redeemer,
Rise magnificent in the martial gold,
Rise against the chaos:
Your shoulders move like grain on a hill,
Full and mellow;
Your arms carry the fallow sheaves;
Your hand rests as on a staff;
And your hair is the fusion of paths of flame:
Your eyes flicker and play
And stay the death's head from the province of man.
- ANDERSON: I speak to the dead, to the still listeners
In the groves of night;
I speak in the dusk
Among the marble and pine
Where they lie.
Their quiet piety listens,
Their patience always in them living
Silently there.
The throng of the dead is vast
Beyond the forlorn word
And the hurrying sword of time;
They rest in the chapeled zone,
In the wood and stone,
In the groves of night.
Joseph, they call in the humming night
And in their voiceless being
Gather the living down
For the love of the earth.

ACT II

(Scene: Near Nauvoo, Illinois, more than a month after the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. Act II opens as the bier is being carried down the street. It is twilight, and it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between Mormons and non-Mormons, except that the latter are loud and insulting. The Mormons move very slowly and respectfully, even majestically; however, they feel the tragedy that their cause has suffered. Strains of "Come, Come Ye Saints" can be heard at appropriate times.)

ONE OF THE MOB: Ole Joe Smith—got 'im at last! Ain't they goin' fancy there! Decked out in their Sunday clothes. Hey, Ben, watch me! (He follows the Mormons, mimicking their posture and occasionally touching them.)

2nd OF THE MOB: (To Richards) Where's your harem, your majesty? Abraham? Sir?

1st: Bows and lace and fancy cuffs, ain't they fine? Ladies' men. What a religion they got! Let's get us one too so the women will like us better. They got style, friend.

3rd: Missionaries to the womenfolk!

RICHARDS: Kindly let us be. We wish to bury Joseph. (The Mormons put the bier down for a rest.)

MOB: Holy, holy, holy Joe!

CLAYTON: The rock is broken, the evening dies

MOB: Joe, Joe, prophet Joe! (They dance about, mockingly.)

3rd: Where's your religion now? Where's those visions? I'll be your prophet. Let me be your prophet!

CLAYTON: The land lies unharvested, the grain burns;
The houses lie open to dust, and the brown wind
Winds through the streets of tomorrow.
The day dies in the west, the sky is like
The fallow land; it stretches white and fallow
With the sun and prepares the grave of graves,
The vacant night. We gaze into the eyes of God,
The pitiless eyes, and find them desolate as pain.

2nd: And Joe said, let there be a vision, and there was a vision.

1st: Church, church, we got a church! Sprinkle me and deal me queens! My luck ain't so good.

2nd: Let's us elders play cards on ole Joe!

RICHARDS: (*Beckoning them away, but they move only slightly*) Leave us, and all will be well. Let us forget and remember. The Church is the Missouri.

CLAYTON: We have come to the wall.

The centuries moulder on the shores of Africa;
Out of the pall of Europe the word of God came,
Saying here, here shall be the veil of Him
Through whom I speak, but now in the wide gaze
Of the sky, we whisper of prayer in the grove.
A hundred wings rise from the river and vanish
Beyond the plain, and the wagons wander
In Eden but find no home.

MOB: Bury ole Joe! (*They begin kicking at the coffin.*)

ANDERSON: Hold there! (*He faces one of the non-Mormons whose hands are raised. Slowly, deliberately, he takes the man's hands and forces him to his knees.*)

You have had enough. I cannot bear that.

(*His voice filled with grief*)

I hear his voice in the upper room,

Calling. . . . by the Susquehanna, calling . . .

And he shall bear no more.

I ask you to move me aside;

I beg of you, test me.

Let me have your hand,

And I shall pour you full of my history.

From Norge, the chain mail and the ship

Over the North Sea, I shall find you

And bring you down. . . .

Mark how the temperate air of my friend

Stays him but not me, how the level sword

Moves from side to side. . . .

I ask you, grip me, and I shall feel

The helm again and the broad release of the sea.

Westward I move, breathing the test

Of the landward storms, and the gulls

Hovering over the foamed water. . . .

I ask you, again, and I shall be free.

RICHARDS: Brother Anderson, they may go now. (*The mob disperses, but a few skulk on the periphery.*)

ANDERSON: I was not with the Prophet long.

RICHARDS: But you know him. He would not be saved, but let them do their work.

ANDERSON: But now what? Where he is, the vision may also be.

RICHARDS: The sword is fashioned and tempered. We breathe the dust and remember. The Twelve remain.

FORBES: A mere quorum beside him.

CLAYTON: Whose hand becomes him?

The light in the Temple came,

The covenants came like the clarion of Moroni

From the wilderness of Sidon:

The ancient land, the land was his

Where he walked, the sky where he looked.

The grain grew under his gaze;

The silk of Canaan in his voice.

We listened and forgot the world.

His call was the ache of knowing

The morning and evening of God

As He walked in the upper room,

And though we tried to call him young

The elderly God opened our souls

Like the green and wondering spring,

And we could not speak for wonder,

The faceted truths and imperishable love.

We gave ourselves to the god he saw

And witnessed God in us as Joseph lived,

But now his body declines to dust,

His hand invites the bone.

FORBES: And shall he live in us as we go? We leave the fields and cities, lost in ourselves.

RICHARDS: The Twelve remain.

FORBES: We are lost to him.

(Nancy Dayton approaches.)

FORBES: Nancy . . . we are about finished. We shall return to Nauvoo.

NANCY: I saw Brother Brigham before you left.

He was quiet in the city's square,

Before the Temple. He took a stalk

And rolled it in his hands and let it fall.
Then he bent over slowly, his great shoulders
Dusty and heavy, and picked it up,
And gazed into his hands for the moment
Of my telling it. I thought he saw me,
But I am not sure.

FORBES: Did he go into the Temple?

NANCY: No. A carriage came. Brother Rigdon, I think.

FORBES: Where are they now?

NANCY: I got here ahead of them, with Father. They were
in Nauvoo a few hours.

RICHARDS: (*Approaching*) And what of the Church?

NANCY: That was the reason. We shall hear from them.

ANDERSON: We should bury Joseph soon.

NANCY: When I was not the woman I am,

I spoke to you of the Church,

And you told me of Joseph.

He was the flame of your eyes.

John, they question and flicker,

And Stephen Forbes, beside me,

Is like a bundle of straw.

YOUNG: (*Approaching*)

Will he never have his rest?

He is brought to and fro, wandering in death.

RIGDON: Brother Brigham, we must be watchful. We must
go secretly.

YOUNG: Brother Richards, where are you taking him?

RICHARDS: Beyond the town.

YOUNG: To the agreed place?

RICHARDS: Yes.

RIGDON: Until a chapel can be built.

YOUNG: A chapel, Brother Rigdon?

RIGDON: Where the Saints may come to honor their Pro-
phet. He was the Prophet.

YOUNG: And did he leave us nothing?

RIGDON: We must guard what remains.

YOUNG: Nothing more?

RIGDON: At Kirtland the voices of the past rose behind the
veil,

As if carried in the arms of morning.

Joseph spoke and the vision of time was upon him.

Can that be again? What he received is ours.

Let us keep him apart in Adam-ondi-ahman.

Let us fulfill the promise of Canaan

And rest in the land and remember him.

YOUNG: The Twelve remain.

RIGDON: What of the Twelve? We have Joseph.

YOUNG: They lead. The Church cannot remain here among
its enemies. It will wither as the vine in the land of
Joseph's death.

RIGDON: The voices come round me again.

Here he lies, waiting for his peace

When we have found ours.

His enemies will know his quiet spirit

That like a summer cloud gleams white

Over the fields of Zion. This is the soft land,

Where maize and the grain fill our arms.

YOUNG: We are as straws together in a swirl of wind;

We pass over the land until the wind puts us down.

Joseph, the Twelve remain, and the ache

Of your vision is with us and must be fulfilled.

I have stumbled in your presence, wondering

How to serve you and whom you served.

My hard hands have taken yours, inquiring.

How can I be of use? I have looked into your eyes

And seen the far horizons of the West,

The wagons and the prairie white and golden

Under a summer day. I have seen the cleavage

Of land from the mountains. In the depths

Of my heart I wander there, where the gulls

Ride above a silver sea and the sky

Like a veil hangs over a great valley.

How can I know where this may be,

Except as I remember you in my stride

That brings me west? I have come from the East

To find you, and I have found you only here,

As you are carried in death, so I must find you

Beyond the river, along the trail

To Laramie, or if not there, westward still
 Where the people may gather, where
 The mountains decline with the sun.
 I have seen the inland sea in the silence
 Of your eyes. Where can you have gone but there?
 You are gone, and I look around at the strange land;
 You are gone, and I hear the wind answer me.
 In the west the valley lies: the great blue peaks
 Rise in the haze where the wagons go; where we go
 The land is like the palm of God. Joseph,
 I await the touch of your hand and your arm about
 me
 To guide me there; where you call, I must go
 As I have always gone.
 Brother Rigdon, he must rest, but we shall not.
 We cannot abandon him, though we leave him in
 Illinois.

(Everyone goes but Clayton; as Joseph's bier disappears he begins speaking. He can hardly be seen in the dusk as he finishes speaking.)

CLAYTON: The wind comes, the heavens swell from the
 invisible Ghost:

All is well. . . The voices hollo in the fields;
 Joseph! Joseph! You are as near as the word of God.

(The scene is the same as before. However, it is morning, and the Saints are gathering to walk into Nauvoo, where a conference of the Church is to be held.)

HAMMOND: Let's go before the Governor gets here.

NANCY: Let him ease his choked conscience.

HAMMOND: He wades through Illinois like a woman with
 her skirts held high. He tickles my gorge like a feather
 with his sickly talk.

NANCY: When he heard of the murder, they say he thought
 we would release the Legion upon him. He went eighteen
 miles beyond Carthage.

ANDERSON: We should have.

HAMMOND: Why? We swagger with platitudes and cove-
 nants, and to what purpose? The Carthage Greys ended the
 comedy in black face before the jail. Ford directed their

performance by disbanding the Legion.

NANCY: Brother Hammond, do not protest too much. The Prophet is gone. The Twelve gather in Nauvoo for the conference.

HAMMOND: Show me what can be done! Brigham should go to school with the children. Can he ever be what we have lost? He is as unlettered as a nursery tale and nearly as profound.

FORD: (*Enters in some haste*) Let me explain before you go to Nauvoo.

FORBES: Governor Ford, no more of you! You desecrate the living as well as the dead. You martyr the memory of Joseph, showing the same white face to your friends and to us. What are you, the same thing to all men, a rooting liar and trimmer to gain your political ends?

FORD: You—all of you—you do not understand me! Let me explain again. The Carthage Greys were the legal militia. If some of them have been guilty of insubordination, they will be punished.

HAMMOND: We heard you speak of them when Joseph was delivered into your hands, when you saw an opportunity for a little advantage. And you call the calculation of murder insubordination! You gave them what they wanted to hear. "Caw, caw," they cried, "hurrah for Tom Ford!!"

FORD: So many factions and sects in Illinois! I go between them, wondering whether I can call any of them Americans. You Mormons ride the centrifuge and spin away from sanity, your eyes glazed over with zeal, so that you cannot see the least thing practically, but only in terms of some preconceived principles that are not even consistent among themselves. You beat the drum of your own martyrdom; you invite the fire. You ride my wits down with your deliberate zealousness. You want me to stand alone against my people, who have elected me to office.

FORBES: You betrayed Joseph to the mob of your own making.

You have not stirred from self,
Expediency: I see the deliberate animal

In you, that cannot foretell its end,
Hurling itself like a shank of meat
Through any gate. Have you not seen
Your error? But as I think of it, it is no error.
As I speak to you, you wither in the scape
Of my past, and our past.

NANCY: That we must leave, that we must drop
Into the gulf of yesterday.

FORBES: Ford, I become careless of you,
And in that quality see myself again.
I see myself, and for all you have done,
We drop you like a rag in the roadway
Where you tatter and rend under the wheels
Of our going. We shall go and leave
You alone with yourself and the Greys:
Assassins, love one another, for we grow
As we look at you; Joseph is fulfilled;
Your duplicity shines on your black tongue
And wrinkles your words: never have I seen you
So well, who would nip at motes and fail
To see the light running through them.
If the unequivocal fact were the slap of my hand
You could not feel it, nor would your head turn:
You stand there like marble, lustrous and thick,
But dead in your beautifully clotted veins;
In the ignominy of this time you stand as chieftain,
Slick, crabbed, an object for deliberate malediction.

FORD: You are as hard on me as your oppressors on you.

FORBES: Except for this: if what I say is untrue,
It does not matter unless you let it,
For I say these things to you, here,
And not abroad, where you portray yourself
Too vividly. But the Carthage Greys came
With blackened faces, avoiding names and the shame
Of discovery, impersonal, the aegis of officialdom.

FORD: My authority is for all, for the general good; the general good must be considered. Your Joseph Smith was ignorant and coarse, but had natural qualities that fitted him for a little success. He never saw the consequences of his

vices and corruption; he loved money and power. What understanding he had was destroyed by the cravings of his animal nature. But he was not a common impostor. He was meek and arrogant, humble and fearful. Nauvoo is a city of Christians and thieves. I do not understand him! I do not understand him! How could you? Why did you follow him? You are infidels who mock all religions and rogues who believe anything.

FORBES: Your thoughts evaporate as surely as your words.
Look at the people; they die in their hearts
As they see the young die under the bludgeon
You create from the air.

NANCY: (*Coming to Forbes*) Stephen, it is as if I know you for the first time.

ANDERSON: (*Approaching with the mantle of the Prophet*)
I am searching for one whom this mantle fits;
He must be small, for both he and Joseph's ghost
Must wear it.

Governor Ford, take it

As a gift; you are the full man, of rhetoric complete
And the gift of endearing the people of Illinois.

FORD: His mantle? Leave his mantle to his widow.

FORBES: As the prophet strode before the Saints, it billowed full;

As he stood before them, it was like a testament
That kept him near to God: it ripples with his light,
From gold, and the glass of the earth for seeing.
It is the very veil between him and us as you
Hold it there, John.

ANDERSON: (*Shaking the mantle open and turning it around*)

Here is Joseph, whom you slew

With your neighing assurances:

Tom Ford, shall I place him about you?

FORD: (*In fascination*) His mantle?

It is as if I only vaguely remember him:

He has slipped away; the issue is settled.

What now can be done?

His people stand about in a vaster concourse;

He does not fail.
 What have I done that he does not fail?
 The mantle shines in the morning sun,
 And though he is gone he is not,
 But lives in the newness of a man
 Awakening from the terror of dreams.
 They fall away from him, and I fall away from him:
 In Nauvoo his people gather,
 And the city is not mine though they give it me.
 I am like a stick in the fields,
 A standard around which the sparrows chatter,
 Endlessly chatter of intrigue and fear.
 The vessel of the state is not here,
 But a stick, the extended arm of animal fear.
 I am what I have been; I cannot blot it,
 But it spreads through me, about me;
 I become myself like the morass
 Below my recognition of it.
 (*Everyone leaves but Nancy and Forbes.*)
 NANCY: They go, but stay with me a moment, Stephen.
 (*Affectionately*) I was mistaken.
 FORBES: The Twelve are assembled in Nauvoo; our future
 is in their hands. Brother Brigham has changed; I have
 changed since he came from Boston.
 NANCY: Let me take your arm.
 FORBES: I have become Brigham's man.
 When he spoke of Joseph I saw
 A scimitar of cities against the mountains
 Where we must go, and somehow in him
 I saw Joseph again, the arm of Joseph
 That will bring us there:
 Nancy, a scimitar of cities against the blue mountains,
 And a great city where the temple of the six spires
 Awakens the dawn of our people:
 I saw the diadem of temples in the cities
 And names I have conjured with from that time:
 At the point of the scimitar gleams
 The great temple of the city of angels,
 Along the curve the temple of white stone in the crim-

son hills,
The temple of the green valleys, Cedar,
The meadows and lakes of Canaan, Lehi, and Jordan
To the valley of the great city beside the sea of the
mountains;
The temple of Joseph is there and golden Moroni
In the flame of morning bursting from the eastern
peaks;
The singing morning is there and blue-clear night
When the valley glows and the air is warm
As the smile of Joseph: the meridian, north,
And the temples rise in the gleaming scimitar.
Come west, Nancy, our home is west;
For that, we could leave Nauvoo;
For the cities, we could walk a hundred years
Beside the axeltree and wagon wheel;
We could forget the old lands behind us
For the hundred years of prophecy in Brigham Young.
NANCY: How can it be that we would strive
Beyond the outposts of the cities,
Leaving all we have known?
Even now, we have gone from hearth to tent
To the coverlet of stars for what can be.
Even Nauvoo is a station, and we walk to and fro,
Whispering for the love of the land that is not ours.
I look to you, unfulfilled except in the promise
Of loving you as if the evening star
Were the point of a wand that delivers us
Beyond the listing and dying image of pain:
Though we should be alone in the western land,
We are the covenant of our being forever.
We stand here as we are, as we always shall be
Beyond Nauvoo and wherever we go in the murmur
of death.
Stephen, you are the reach of my love and my hand
in yours;
As I look at you, the voice is about us,
That if we are one, as now, the shields
Of eternity will keep us one.

FORBES: What we know in ourselves cleaves time,
And now is forever broken in two.

NANCY: Wherever we live, I shall lilt in our love;
How may I keep each image of you?
Each comes from the succulent spring and the water
of air,
Rushing in, immensely strong, and each upon each
Full as the rain of light.
I was held in the gust of glory, held and spun,
Until, dazed in the kingdom,
I found you, whom I could know
Over the headlands of my being.
See the image of you leap like the sea
Upon the cataract of lava washed to sand,
Or like the panther over the canopy of my fear!
I know your vision immensely close
As you keep our imperial love in the sleep of the sun.

ACT III

(Conference of the Church on August 8, 1844. The Quorum of the Twelve are seated on the stage. Brigham Young and Sidney Rigdon are greeting the people as they come and seat themselves. The stage is as follows:

*Quorum of the Twelve
Speaker's Stand*

Congregation

Congregation

The purpose of this arrangement is to make the audience feel as if they are part of the congregation. Brigham begins with some deliberateness and hesitation, then as he becomes firmer the people realize that it is God's will that he lead; the mantle of the Prophet is on him. The light on him intensifies.

The scene opens as Forbes, Anderson, Clayton, and Nancy Dayton come in. There seems to be a happy agreement among them.)

ANDERSON: Then we are agreed.

FORBES AND CLAYTON: Yes. *(They approach Rigdon and Young.)* Good day, Brother Rigdon; good day, Brother Young. *(Rigdon is wearing a long coat.)*

ANDERSON: *(To Young)* Will you speak this afternoon?

YOUNG: Yes, the Lord willing.

ANDERSON: It may rain; there is some shelter under the trees where we can listen to you. Everyone who can has come.

YOUNG: I am grateful.

FORBES: But the speaker's stand is in the open, and you have no mantle. *(To Anderson)* I believe you have one, Brother Anderson. President Young will need cover; the people want him protected from the rain.

YOUNG: *(Hardly noticing the manile that Anderson puts on his shoulders)* Brethren, I have stood in the rain before, but later, if I need it. Thank you. *(He turns, and the mantle billows full as Anderson takes it. Rigdon and he go to the rostrum. When they get there, the audience murmurs, for they have seen the mantle, and gravitate to Brigham. He shakes hands with the Quorum of Twelve as Anderson, Clayton, and Forbes talk among themselves.)*

FORBES: I had to see.

ANDERSON: I believe you, Brother Stephen. It is he. The spirit glistens and stirs. The people stir under his hand; the Twelve seem as one. The people gather together as if for a great journey. An era is done; an era begins. Listen!

NANCY: The meeting begins.

MARKS: Brother Neibaur, will you open with prayer?

NEIBAUR: Blessed the people knowing the shout of Jehovah; In the light of his countenance they will walk.

How can we, people in sackcloth,

Open our lips before thee?

They have rejected and slain our leaders,

Thine anointed ones.

Our eyes are dim, our hearts heavy,

No place of refuge being left.

Redeem the people that in thee only trusts;

There is none to stand between and inquire;

Thou art our helper,

The refuge of Israel in time of trouble.

O look in righteousness upon thy faithful servants,

Who have laid bare their lives unto death;

Being betrayed by false brethren, and their lives cut off,

Forbidding their will before thine;

Having sanctified thy great name;

Ready for a sacrifice;—standing in the breach

Tried and proved.

To save the blood of the fathers;

Their children, brothers, and sisters;

Adding theirs unto those who are gone before them;

Sanctifying thy holy and great name upon the earth;

Cover and conceal not their blood.

Give ear unto their cries until thou lookest

And shewest down from heaven—taking vengeance

And avenging their blood—avenging thy people and thy law,

According to thy promises made

Unto our forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Hasten the acceptable and redeeming year;

Remember unto us thy covenants:

All this heaviness has reached us;
Can any one be formed to declare
What has befallen us?
Before thee nothing living is justified by their works.
Help thou, O Father; unto thee
We will lift our souls,
Our hearts in our hands;
We look to heaven,
Lifting our eyes unto the mountains,
From whence cometh our help.
Turn away thine anger,
That we be not spoiled.
O return and leave a blessing behind thee!
In the name of our Lord Jesus, Amen.

MARKS: Brother Rigdon, will you speak? Then Brother Young..

RIGDON: The object of my mission is to visit the saints and offer myself to them as a guardian. I had a vision at Pittsburgh, June 27th. This was presented to my mind not as an open vision, but rather a continuation of the vision mentioned in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. It was shown to me that this church must be built up to Joseph, and that all the blessings we receive must come through him. I have been ordained a spokesman to Joseph, and I must come to Nauvoo and see that the church is governed in a proper manner. Joseph sustains the same relationship to this church as he has always done. No man can be the successor of Joseph.

The kingdom is to be built up to Jesus Christ through Joseph; there must be revelation still. The martyred Prophet is still the head of this church; every quorum should stand as you stood in your washings and consecrations. I have been consecrated a spokesman to Joseph, and I was commanded to speak for him. The church is not disorganized though our head is gone.

We may have a diversity of feelings on this matter. I have been called to be a spokesman unto Joseph, and I want to build up the Church unto him; and if the people want me to sustain this place, I want it upon the principle

that every individual shall acknowledge it for himself.

I propose to be a guardian to the people; in this I have discharged my duty and done what God has commanded me, and the people can please themselves whether they accept me or not.

YOUNG: *Attention all!* This congregation makes me think of the days of King Benjamin, the multitude being so great that all could not hear. I request the brethren not to have any feelings for being convened this afternoon, for it is necessary; we want you all to be still and give attention, that all may hear. Let none complain because of the situation of the congregation; we will do the best we can.

For the first time in my life, for the first time in your lives, for the first time in the kingdom of God in the 19th century, without a Prophet at our head, the Quorum of the Twelve, as Apostles of Jesus Christ unto this generation—Apostles whom God has called by revelation through the Prophet Joseph—come before you to lead the kingdom of God in the last days.

Until now, we have walked by sight and not by faith. We have had the Prophet in our midst. We have walked by sight and without much pleading to the Lord to know whether things were right.

We have had a prophet of the Lord to speak to us, but he has sealed his testimony with his blood, and now, for the first time, we are called to walk by the abiding faith he gave us.

(In the voice of Joseph)

I know your feelings, my people:

We saw him walk from our city, I in my heart

And you in your sight, and he was alone among us.

He gave us his vision, and under his hand I left you

To do as he bid me to do, to preach the testament of
the new world:

But we did not know him as we do now.

I feel his presence and his loneliness:

He would go to Carthage for us, he would die for us,

And we did not want him to stay if he could do more.

"If my brethren do not value my life, neither do I," he cried.

And he went among his enemies, who wanted him.

Now the light comes in the sky of my vision,

The bird of God alights on the branch of Ephraim,

The ages cry in my marrow:

My heart shakes with the wonder of his knowing, the voice

Of the milleniums in the crystal of earth;

My hand trembles over them, and they ripple

Like the waters of Jordan and Zion

In the meridian day of the Lord:

I know the Testament and the voice

That runs like the wonder of heaven

Among the groves of Olivet.

(Anderson comes forward and places the mantle of the Prophet on Brigham's shoulders.)

It draws me with it, and abroad as my mission has been

Speaks His name. Joseph, your hand! Where can you be?

I feel your ghost, and you have delivered me

Over the veil into the velvet planes

And the white air that shatters into the rivers of stars

We listen to from the pavilions of heaven,

And all is new in the earth,

Where the petals fall like the leaves of another year.

Before me the people feel the breath of your being:

The Saints must leave Nauvoo,

And they weep in the fields for the harvests of grain;

They watch the light flowing from the grove, westward

To the cities of America in the havens of spring.

The Spirit thrives in them,

And I am left open to your people,

And they weep for the mission before us

And the scroll of the covenants you wrote upon:

The dust rises; the seasons disappear;

The people stir like the wings of returning memory

Over the exile of forgotten ages: the bronzed hand
Breaks the seal, the lance of God
Springs from the taut bow;
Rushing, rushing, it rides in the waning afternoon;
Joseph, the swiftness is upon me;
The certain hour and the flight of what is to be
Arrow my days of wondering
And you are with me in the mission
You brought me to, that I cannot deny.

(Pause)

Saints of the latter days, come west with the Twelve
And fulfill the Kingdom of God in Zion.

I ask you: do you want to choose a guardian? Because
our Prophet and Patriarch have been taken from us, do you
want someone to guard or someone to guide and lead
you through this world into the Kingdom of God? All that
want someone to be a guardian or a spokesman signify by
raising the right hand.

(No votes)

CHORUS: *(Murmuring here and there)*

In the time of strength there are the strong.
The vessel of God is among us:
Can we provide what He will give?
The bounty is in us for future time,
Though not in our hands.
For our hands there is the rich earth
From which our portion comes,
Not here, but where we make our home.

YOUNG: You seem to say, we want a shepherd to guide and
lead us. All that want to draw away a part from the Church
after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not
prosper.

What do you want? I want to weep and mourn, but
all of us should rise up, shake ourselves, and do the will of
the Lord. We must discharge those duties God has placed
upon us.

I now wish to speak of the organization of the Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. If the Church is or-
ganized, and you want to know how it is organized, I will

tell you.

What do the people want? I feel as though I want to weep and mourn for thirty days, at least, then rise up, shake myself, and tell the people what the Lord wants of them; although my heart is too full of mourning to launch forth into the organization of the Church, I feel compelled this day to step forth in the discharge of those duties God has placed upon me.

Here is President Rigdon, who was counselor to Joseph. I ask, where are Joseph and Hyrum? They are gone beyond the veil; and if Elder Rigdon wants to act as his counselor, he must go beyond the veil where he is.

There has been much said about President Rigdon being President of the Church, and leading the people, being the head, and so forth. Brother Rigdon has come many miles to tell you what he wants to do for you. If the people want President Rigdon to lead them, they may have him; but I say unto you that the Quorum of the Twelve have the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world.

RIGDON: (*Interrupting*) Where will the Twelve take you?

You will leave Adam-ondi-ahman, and home;

You will scatter over the land,

And forget the vision and gathering of Israel.

But let me confide in you:

Toward the end, Joseph fell from grace,

But who can blame him?

He grew anxious about life;

He married secretly, desperately;

He talked fearfully of the West.

I knew him once, when the waters flowed evenly,

Blue in the grace of heaven;

But then I could not know him:

The distant cry of tomorrow,

Away from Nauvoo,

The wheeling wings

Above the barren land

Of your future without me.

In the last extremity,

Joseph lost the humming vision

And gave it to me.

I am the guardian

Until his spirit rises again.

You are lost in the Twelve;

The tests will overwhelm you.

Know my voice;

I am the staff of God;

Rest in me.

YOUNG: (*To the congregation*) Joseph knew the freedom of
God,

The new keys to the gates of knowing,

And the provision of the great Zion of the mountains,

Where natural truth and the word of God

Shall be indistinguishable from each other.

The effort is mine and yours,

The work and glory of Him

Who struck Sinai with the stone law

That grew into love.

RIGDON: We have all we can do;

The canon is full;

You will fail.

YOUNG: (*Still to the congregation*) We shall fail as Adam
failed;

We are not pure as Eden,

Where palms and the fern might hid our innocence,

But with the keys we have we shall try every door.

What may meet us, the sunburst gold,

The forest green, the ivory legends of St. Paul,

The sackcloth of Amos, Hosea, the wonder of love,

Or the bright clouds of the millennium,

We do not care, for these we address

With openness, as the spirit is open.

RIGDON: Think of the desert skull;

It is yours, where the prairie

Widens into the desolation of Coriantumr.

YOUNG: Brother Rigdon, the Prophet charged you to set
your house in order;

He did not mean for you to pull the blinds

And light a candle in the darkness.

RIGDON: Let us arrange the truth in the convenience
Of him who bequeathed it.
He was the spirit of rest;
The age of the hero is gone.
Do you suppose the wilderness is yours?

YOUNG: The western wilderness is ours,
And may it always be,
Though we return from it
And find the old lands again,
From which our people came.
Israel is the hand reaching through fire
And finding the gate of Eden.

RIGDON: (*In a half-light to the congregation*)
Will you follow him, who gives you fire?

YOUNG: The fire is the Ghost, our minister to Him:
We do not fear.

RIGDON: To the fear of your graves . . .

YOUNG: From which we shall rise and live;
We wait not alone for what must come;
The day is ours.
The Church is the rod of our will
To rise as the Spirit moves us to rise
Like the breath of morning over Zion.
Who can guess what may be before God comes again?
He is not so far from us
That we cannot resemble Him where the fires gleam
Like islands on the sea:
In our hands and as the Spirit rules,
We shall make the world and ourselves
The just inheritors of what shall come.

RIGDON: As you will; I shall have nothing of it.

YOUNG: You have drawn away.

Stay with us, Brother Rigdon,
Whatever the struggle.

RIGDON: Kirtland is mine;
The visions will come again,
Though Joseph is gone.

(*He leaves, slowly.*)

YOUNG: The Twelve are appointed by the finger of God.

Here is Brigham, have his knees ever faltered? Have his lips ever quivered? Here is Heber and the rest of the Twelve, an independent body who have the keys of the priesthood—the keys of the kingdom of God to deliver to all the world: this is true, so help me God. They stand next to Joseph, and are as the First Presidency of the Church.

I do not know whether my enemies will take my life or not, and I do not care, for I want to be with the man I love.

You cannot fill the office of the prophet, seer, and revelator: God must do this. You are like children without a father and sheep without a shepherd. You must not appoint any man at our head; if you should, the Twelve must ordain him. You cannot appoint a man at our head; but if you do want any other man or men to lead you, take them and we will go our way to build up the kingdom in all the world.

Does this Church want it as God organized it? Or do you want to clip the power of the priesthood, and let those who have the keys of the priesthood go and build up the kingdom in all the world, wherever the people will hear them?

If there is a spokesman, if he is a king and priest, let him go and build up a kingdom unto himself; that is his right and it is the right of many here, but the Twelve are at the head of it.

I will ask, who has stood next to Joseph and Hyrum? I have, and I will stand next to him. We have a head, and that head is the Apostleship, the spirit and power of Joseph, and we can now begin to see the necessity of that Apostleship.

Brother Rigdon was at his side—not above. No man has a right to counsel the Twelve but Joseph Smith. Think of these things. You can not appoint a prophet; but if you let the Twelve remain and act in their place, the keys of the kingdom are with them and they can manage the affairs of the Church and direct all things aright.

Now, all this does not lessen the character of Presi-

dent Rigdon; let him magnify his calling, and Joseph will want him beyond the veil—let him be careful what he does, lest that thread which binds us together is cut asunder.

I do not ask you to take my counsel or advice alone, but every one of you act for yourselves; but if Brother Rigdon is the person you want to lead you, vote for him, but not unless you intend to follow him and support him as you did Joseph. Do not say so without you mean to take his counsel hereafter.

And I would say the same for the Twelve, don't make a covenant to support them unless you intend to abide by their counsel; and if they do not counsel you as you please, don't turn around and oppose them.

I want every man, before he enters into a covenant, to know what he is going to do; but we want to know if this people will support the priesthood in the name of Israel's God. If you say you will, do so.

We want men appointed to take charge of the business that did lay on the shoulders of Joseph. Let me say to you that this kingdom will spread more than ever.

I will ask you as quorums, do you want Brother Rigdon to stand forward as your leader, your guide, your spokesman? President Rigdon wanted me to bring up the other question first, and that is does the Church want, and is it their only desire, to sustain the Twelve as the First Presidency of this people?

Here are the Apostles, the *Bible*, the *Book of Mormon*, the *Doctrine and Covenants*—they are written on the tablet of my heart. If the Church wants the Twelve to stand as the head, the First Presidency of the Church, and at the head of this kingdom in all the world, stand next to Joseph, walk up into their calling and hold the keys of this kingdom, every man, every woman, every quorum is now put in order, and you are now the sole controllers of it.

All that are in favor of this, in all the congregation of the Saints, manifest it by holding up the right hand. (*There is a universal vote.*)

CHORUS: We know the Twelve, whom the Lord has given:
They shake us free from our enemies,
Westward from Europe we gather,
And gather still; we are brought from the world,
From Israel and Ephraim, who have wandered
For the keys and the standard of God.
In whom we can believe Joseph stands again,
And about him we gather:
Our children speak from future time
That we are one: and they of the voice of rivers
Are great and tall in the day of their being,
When the stakes of Zion are firm in our name.
Praise be unto Him when our children are strong,
When their eyes flame the blue and gold
Of our new land and their calm hands
Build our Zion: we follow the Twelve.

YOUNG: If there are any of the contrary mind, every man
and every woman who does not want the Twelve to pre-
side, lift up your hands in like manner. (*No hands up*)
This supersedes the other question, and trying it by quor-
ums.

We feel as though we could take Brother Rigdon in
our bosom along with us; we want such men as Brother
Rigdon. He was sent away by Brother Joseph to build up
a kingdom; let him keep the instructions and calling; let
him raise up a mighty kingdom in Pittsburgh, and we will
lift up his hands to Almighty God.

You did not know whom you had amongst you. Joseph
so loved his people that he gave his life for them; Hyrum
loved his brother and this people unto death. Joseph and
Hyrum have given their lives for the Church. But very few
knew Joseph's character; he loved you unto death—you did
not know it until after his death: he has now sealed his
testimony with his blood.

There is much to be done. You have men among you
who sleep with one eye open. The foundation is laid by
our Prophet, and we will build thereon; no other founda-
tion can be laid but that which is laid, and we will have
our endowment, if the Lord will.

I say these things in the name of Jesus, Amen.

CLAYTON: When we see the valley, our home, we shall
cry, "Hosanna! Hosanna!"

It will open before us as the sky opens when we look
to God:

The winds of the prairie, the dry lands; the oxen
Under the storm of freedom, the lash; the wheels
west;

And the Saints shall come home. They shall cross the
divide

To the pines of the mountains, the bright canyons,
The snow, the running voice of the torrents,
The falls and the granite hills: I see the Saints
Come home, silent with the wonder of God that He
should bring

Them home; the line of wagons among the great
cliffs

Of the West: they hang there in our vision, green and
grey,

The shale and rock, in the long haze of afternoon,
The spray of the mountain streams swirling in the
canyons.

Then suddenly the high rock falls away in our going,
And the valley opens like the earth that Adam saw,
The golden valley, and I shall say to the Saints, come,
As Brigham can say, come, we cannot fail: the valley
Sweeps up in the west to another land, Oregon,
California, but here is the land of Joseph,
Our land, and Brigham shall bring us home.

The past cruds over, and we forget our origins:
Whence we come is a mission from home

And home where we scan the mountain world:
This is the place where we come, where the spirit
Opens, and we live in the forever of knowing
That Joseph would have it so.

(Everyone leaves but Clayton.)

Jehovah, you are bound by us, for we, naive
And in your image, are they whom you made.
You invest the air above us yet would range abroad
And spoil heaven for our joy. We stand with you

Against the vacuum and fires of space,
And you, our elder hand, gather them in,
The fisherman. You make us of yourself
Grown strong, and we, though fainting,
Are drawn up, shaken by your grace.
You are the resurrection whose craft is power,
Whose reason is love, the recessional wonder.
But the binding of light! The rose of that conception
Impends like the blue power of stars in your vision.
Spiralling forever away. Yet you stand here
For us, savior,
Jehovah, I shall go to the door and begin.
Here is the ritual of our devotion;
I walk out to the spring, where my horse
Bends and drinks from the sky it sees there.
I shall ride the roads of the earth,
Jostling my mettle till it is known
And I gather it as I do these reins.
This you give me as I mount:
Eli, eli, lama sabachthani,
And I go into the white glade where spring comes
In the fervor of love.

(He leaves. The stage is empty, but the light over the speaker's stand remains bright.)

THE VOICE OF JOSEPH:

Among these trees and in the slanting rays
I feel a breath that stirs the restless shade;
Vision of my prayer, O sunstream,
Light of morning, light of spring, flooding
Through the glade, soundless, white and clear,
Enfolding air, enfolding shade, prism of the day,
Glowing stream, resplendent, shining glory
Of the world, eternal light,
Holiness and glory unto Him,
Eternal glory, glory of the Lord!

Three Theories of Religious Language.

TRUMAN G. MADSEN

Religious language is both timely and timeless as a topic, but is particularly central in recent philosophy of religion and theology. Today writers on religion are pre-occupied at all levels by the question, "What do you mean?" Everywhere this semantic interest is manifest.

The question, of course, is not new. It was asked by the ancients in the Christian tradition, who developed the so-called allegorical method or fourfold method of interpreting scripture; also, by mystics who held that nothing can be said about God, and by classical theologians who held that discourse concerning God must be exclusively in either negative or analogical terms. One movement under the banner of "modernism" attempted a half century ago to turn religiously demanding prose into aesthetically satisfying poetry. Today several counter-trends are seeking anew to get at the foundations of religious expression.

What is dominant in our time is a definite trend toward a total abandonment of what has been called "literalism." Many theologians, philosophers and scientists have reached similar conclusions on this point. For some, the claim that religious expression is *non-literal*, leads to the abandonment of religion. For others, it opens new vistas of genuine religious participation.

In order now to give continuity to the discussion, I am going to use a model sentence. This sentence is at the core of Christian religion: "God sent His Son." Having stated the sentence I shall present briefly, as applied to it, three dominant theories of religious meaning. I am going to call these, for want of better terms: I. "Neo-positivism," II. "Neo-symbolism," III. "Neo-Thomism," a wing of naturalism, Protestantism, and Catholi-

Dr. Madsen is assistant professor of philosophy and religion at Brigham Young University.

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cism respectively. Under each type I shall focus on four central issues: 1. The use of the term "God." 2. The content of the phrase "sent His Son." 3. The translatability of the expression. 4. The verifiability of the expression. I will then derive from these theories four basic points of similarity and conclude by presenting certain logical criticisms of these.

I. *Neo-positivism* (Austin, Wisdom, Flew)

1. *The name "God"*

For the neo-positivist the term "God" has zero denotation. It is like "Zukor" or "Cerberus," terms which function in discourse but have no referent. Names usually arise as pointers for particulars. For the neo-positivists particulars are apprehended primarily through sense data. Names and phrases which are not reducible to sense data are rejected as either meaningless or without factual import.¹

2. *The phrase "sent His Son"*

The predicate of our type-expression, "sent His Son," is analyzed by the neo-positivist in ways parallel to the name. It is a grammatically ordered pattern of words. But no deductive nor inductive process could render it verifiable or falsifiable. Hence, for most of these writers, the latter parts of the expression as well as the term "God" are not to be used in rational discourse.

A celebrated example from Antony Flew uses the expression, "God loves us." Flew argues that people who believe, first, that this is a genuine proposition and, second, that it is true actually will permit no evidence whatever, sensory or otherwise, no set of life experiences, to count against or falsify the statement. Its assertion as "true" is, for these people, compatible with every state of affairs, e.g. the suffering of an innocent child. Hence, its assertion is superfluous. Flew argues that for this reason, if for no other, the sentence has no scientific or philosophical point.²

¹Analysts distinguish "naming" and "meaning." "God" may carry meaningful connotations. But though it purports to name, it fails. Feigl's "Empiricism vs. Theology," *A Modern Introduction to Philosophy*, ed. by Edwards and Pap (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), pp. 533-538.

²The original article by Flew, and essays in answer are contained in *New Essays in Philosophical Theology*, ed. by Flew and Macintyre, chap. VI, (New York: Macmillan, 1955).

A recent account of the falsification issue is by Brian Gerrish, "Some Re-

3. *Translatability*

Could the sentence be put in *other* terms which *are* meaningful? The answer is that, in order to justify the use of such an expression, one must change it into a sentence of a different sort, e.g. an historical proposition such as "A person named 'Jesus' lived in Palestine in 30 A.D.," or hold that it has a *function* without having any literal meaning. For example, (a) Vergil Aldrich argues that this expression is simply a kind of "concerted enactment in worship." We are *doing* something, viz., expressing a response to holiness when we use it. But we are not *saying* anything about the world of the past or future. We are not uttering a proposition.³ (b) J. L. Austin has argued that sentences of this type are a sort of "performatory utterance." As when we say, "I christen this ship," or "I baptize you," we are not *describing anything*. We are simply performing an act, in this case, a core-Christian act, conventional in origin.⁴ (c) Gilbert Ryle holds that this kind of sentence is a pretense sentence. It has meaning precisely as the sentence "Don Quixote attacked the windmill" would have if we presumed, for purposes of fictional dramatization, a certain context of narrative. But as soon as we come down, as it were, to reality, as soon as we face the world as it is, the sentence dissolves into insignificance.⁵ (d) Kai Nelson argues that only the self-deceiving person goes on thinking such a sentence has cognitive meaning. Actually his own private ideology or value-system is being covertly expressed. Religious expressions are disguised ideologies with no factual or objective sense.⁶

4. *Verification*

The "verification" of such sentences is, of course, non-existent. One cannot verify a sentence which is not a proposition. This is not a proposition; there is, therefore, no verifica-

lections on Recent Linguistic Philosophy," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, XIII, No. 3, March 1958, pp. 3-11.

³Vergil Aldrich, "The High and the Holy," *Journal of Religion*, Vol. 32, 1953 (Cf. *Journal of Philosophy*, LI, 146 f.).

⁴J. L. Austin, "Other Minds," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Supp. Vol. XX (1946), pp. 17-175.

⁵"If, So and Because," *Philosophical Analysis*, ed. by Max Black (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950). Ryle's statements concern the use of language in fiction. My application to religion is an extrapolation.

⁶Kai Nelson, "On Talk About God," *Journal of Philosophy*, LV, p. 889 f.

tion. There may be justification of the *use* of such expressions such as that it is comforting, or inspiring, or rejuvenating, but no confirmation of fact.⁷

II. *Neo-symbolism* (Tillich, Niebuhr, Bultmann)

1. *The term "God"*

For the neo-symbolist, the term "God" does not refer, or denote in the usual sense of language. It points to that about which no descriptive language is possible. This group posits a radical dualism between the finite and the infinite, present and transcendent, particular beings and Being-itself, conditioned things and the Unconditioned, reality and the Ground of all reality.⁸ The term "God" points in the latter direction of these couplets. This is the "essential mystery" of Tillich, the "beyond" of Niebuhr, the "transcendent" of Bultmann, the "ganders allers" of Barth and Brunner, the "infinite" of Kirkegaard.

2. *The phrase "sent His Son"*

The symbolist requires that we free ourselves of all literalism, and he means *all*. Everything about this phrase is symbolic. As soon as we ascribe to it anything literal, we have fallen into paradox and absurdity and, from a religious point of view, into idolatry.⁹ The expressions here used, namely "sent" and "His"

⁷The nature of such justification is treated with great subtlety by John Wisdom in his essay, "Gods" in *Logic and Language* (First Series), (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953).

⁸A summation of Tillich's theory is in "Religious Symbols and Our Knowledge of God," *Christian Scholar*, XXXVIII, No. 3, (September 1955). Also "Existential Analysis and Religious Symbols," *Contemporary Problems of Religion*, ed. by Harold A. Basilius (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1956). Much of Tillich's popular *Dynamics of Faith* (New York: Harper's, 1957) deals with symbols.

Niebuhr has recently written: "I do not know how it is possible to believe in anything pertaining to God and eternity 'literally.'" "Reply to Interpretation and Criticism," in *Reinhold Niebuhr, His Religious, Social and Political Thought*, ed. by Kegley and Bretall (New York: 1956), p. 446. Compare the discussion, "Can Theology Be Reduced to Mythology?" *Review of Religion*, January, 1940. Bultmann says in a basic statement: "... there are certain concepts which are fundamentally mythological, and with which we shall never be able to dispense—e.g. the idea of transcendence." *Kerygma and Myth*, ed. by Bartsch (S.P.C.K., 1953), pp. 102 ff. See also his *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (New York: Scribner's, 1958).

⁹This view is a "Protestant principle"—the rejection of all specific forms for the religious, what Dillenberger calls "a religious perspective which rejects all finite claims to ultimacy." *Protestant Christianity*, (New York: Scribner's 1954), p. 318. The view opposes "sharply formulated dogmatic propositions" See Tillich, *Theology of Paul Tillich*, ed. by Kegley and Bretall (New York: Macmillan, 1952), p. 332.

and "Son," are rejected as literal terms; they are, rather, symbolic or mythical. To presume otherwise is to use finite categories, such as time and space and substance and causality. But that to which "God" points is *not subject* to any of these categories. Hence, *all* ordinary or literal connotations must be dropped or broken before the symbolic power of this expression is mediated.¹⁰

For Tillich the phrase, "God sent His Son" points, in a mysterious way to a dimension of life, the religious dimension, wherein we are overcome with a sense of dependence and concern. The expression does not say anything *about* this world or another world, nor does it diminish or remove the mystery of the ultimate. It is simply an expression, the classic Christian *expression*, of a kind of ultimate faith.

3. *Translatability*

The neo-symbolist holds the expression, "God sent His Son," to be untranslatable into literal terms. All such attempts rob the symbol of its role. Every person who finds some symbolic *power* (Note the shift from the question of *meaning* to *power*) in the Christian cross, or in our type-expression, undergoes a certain inward response and transformation. The expression functions as does a symphony, say Beethoven's Ninth, or a great painting, say of Picasso. When we listen to Beethoven's Ninth nothing is *said*. There is no *meaning* in the ordinary propositional sense. Yet something in us and in reality is opened up and somehow conveyed. The encounter leaves us changed, but defies propositional expression. It is radically unlike the percepts and concepts of scientific method. To take symbolic expressions and "translate" them into propositions results in quasi-assertions, which actually are not assertions at all, or if they are, are no longer genuinely religious.¹¹

4. *Verification*

"Verification" for the neo-symbolist is primarily related to the power of symbols or "the word" to grip us in religious awareness. The Christ symbol e.g. has "efficacy in life process"

¹⁰See *Systematic Theology*, Vol. I, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 238-247.

¹¹Genuine symbols can be overcome only by the other genuine symbols, not by criticism of their literalistic distortions" "Existential Analysis and Religious Symbols" *op. cit.*, p. 55.

or power to mediate grace or healing effects. These are indefinite and incomplete. There is no finality of any symbol or set of symbols.¹² If we say (as strictly, for these men, we should not) that symbols are "true," we must recognize that we say so precisely as we might say that a symphony is "true." It is adequate to a function in the depths of man. It calls out an inner response.¹³ "God sent His Son" is *not* an historical judgment.

III. *Neo-Thomism* (Maritain, Copleston, Weigel)

1. *The term "God"*

For the neo-Thomist, "God" is a name for the metaphysical foundation of the universe, a Necessary Being, The Uncaused cause, the One whose essence is to exist. God is, as the Latin phrase has it, *ens realissimum*, the most real. This reality is metaphysical rather than physical.¹⁴

2. *The phrase "sent His Son"*

The neo-Thomist says this is not a literal phrase. (His word is "univocal.") Nor again is it utterly ambiguous. (His word is "equivocal.") It is, rather, and this is the key term, *analogical*. We cannot understand terms applied to the infinite in their literal bearings. Rather, again, this school posits a radical dualism between the finite or materiate order of reality, and the metaphysical, infinite, or immateriate level of reality.¹⁵

The analogies that are permitted to obtain in discourse about God are not analogies comparing two objects—for example, God to man—but rather proportional analogies in which there are at least four terms. The similarity obtains between the relationships of each *pair* of terms. For example, it would be legitimate for the Thomist to say, "God is to His Son as a man is to

¹²Tillich, Niebuhr, and Bultmann all emphasize the *change* of concrete historical symbols. See "Religion and Its Intellectual Critics," *Christianity and Crisis*, XV, No. 9, p. 21.

¹³For neo-symbolic writers religious and aesthetic expression are rooted in something deeper—the depth-self. Linguistic and artistic symbolism are closely allied as modes of expressing this concern. See "The Nature of Religious Art," *Symbols and Society*, ed. by Bryson *et al.* (New York: Harpers, 1955), pp. 282-284.

¹⁴See Etienne Gilson, *God and Philosophy*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941). Compare J. V. Langmead Casserley's *The Christian in Philosophy* (New York: Scribner's, 1951), Chapter II.

¹⁵A recent approach to the Catholic doctrine of analogy is E. L. Mascall's *Existence and Analogy*, (New York: Longman's, 1949). See also the expositional chapter in Dorothy Emmett's *Nature of Metaphysical Thinking*, (London: Macmillan, 1949), chap. VIII.

his son." A similarity obtains between the *relationship* God has to His Son and the *relationship* an earthly father has to his son. What is this similarity? Again it is not expressible in literal terms. It does not denote, for example, such finite notions as procreative power or parenthood. No. The relationship is pushed to its abstract limit, to the question of being. God is analogically the source of being.¹⁶

Of course, Catholicism (as likewise the neo-positivists and neo-symbolists) posits many levels of understanding and admits that in liturgy, in worship, and in prayer, we may use this expression in a way that is perhaps not properly analogized as a theologian would require.

3. *Translatability*

Literal translation is on this view again impossible. One cannot take analogical terms and translate them into univocal terms.

The Thomist (as the neo-symbolist tries to avoid mixing dimensions) tries to avoid two extremes. On the one hand, if he admits any literal similarity of Divine-human relationships, he ends with anthropomorphism, ascribing to God or to Christ attributes and characteristics which are finite and, on his view, blasphemous. On the other hand, if he rejects *all* similarities he cannot distinguish the Divine from nothing at all. The attempt to mediate this dilemma is the doctrine of analogy. Translation of analogical into univocal terms recreates the dilemma; hence it is forbidden.¹⁷

4. *Verification*

The "verification" of this sentence is primarily rational and authoritarian. The Thomist is convinced that rational consideration (e.g. the Five Ways) coerce the intellect into the admission of the First Cause, God. The "sent His Son" phrase is a result of revelation, primarily Biblical, though also sanctioned by sacred tradition.¹⁸

¹⁶See Gustave Weigel's summary of contrasts between this view and the neo-symbolist's. *Gregorianum*, XXXVII, p. 52. Compare Raphael Demos in "Are Religious Dogmas Cognitive and Meaningful?" *Journal of Philosophy*, LI.

¹⁷See F. C. Copleston's statement, "there's bound to be a radical inadequacy in any statements about a metaphysical reality." Chapter 46 of *A Modern Introduction to Philosophy*, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), "Are Statements About God Meaningful?", pp. 609-614. See also his "Commentary on 'Five Ways' of Aquinas," same volume.

¹⁸See "Myth, Symbol and Analogy" by Gustave Weigel, *Religion and*

The Four Common Theses

Now though these three theories are often assumed to be mutually opposed, our brief survey has uncovered four points at which they may be said to agree:

First, that the term "God" points to something "Beyond"—for the neopositivist beyond "sense-experience" (indirectly to one's ideological commitments), for the neo-symbolist beyond everything finite to the "transcendent," for the neo-Thomist beyond the contingent order of reality to Necessary Being.

Second, that the apparently literal or descriptive connotations of religious language must be rejected.

Third, that the efficacy or significance of religious language is destroyed by translation into sense-language, or literal language, or univocal language.

Fourth, that the "verification" of religious expression is in no way comparable to the verification of perceptual or scientific propositions.

Let us call these theses respectively the Transcendence thesis, the Non-descriptive thesis, the Non-translatability thesis, and the Non-verifiability thesis.

We turn now to certain logical difficulties of these.

The Transcendence Thesis

The logical outcome of the transcendence thesis is either circularity or contradiction. The neo-positivist hides a judgment about the limits of reality within an overt judgment as to what shall count as meaningful language. As is widely recognized today this positivist restriction on language operates more or less fruitfully in science. But as a resolve or presupposition it cannot be justified *within* the framework of science. And to look for justification *outside* of science is to violate the resolve.

For the neo-symbolist the contradiction is this: To say that to which "God" points is beyond descriptive language is to assert a proposition which could only be validated by descriptive knowledge or belief. But this the theorists claim is impossible. On the other hand, if the "beyond" is totally unknown we are incompetent to use the term "God." We are forced to a non-committal "x." *Something* must be known about that to which

Culture, Chap. 9, ed. by Leibrecht (New York: Harpers, 1959), pp. 120-130. Compare "Analogy, Symbolism and Linguistic Analysis," by William L. Reese in *Review of Metaphysics*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, March, 1960.

"x" points to justify the term "God" and a good deal more than "Something" to justify the implicit theological concepts of a Tillich or Niebuhr or Bultmann.

To put the point in more constructive terms: If *anything* (whether distinct from illusion or not) has intersected human experience, however "experience" may be defined, that something can be named and described, either with terms from our present vocabulary, or with terms which are created or stipulated for the purpose. In spite of the drastic contemporary emphasis on "Transcendence" I have yet to find an argument that has consistently shown this to be impossible.

The Non-Descriptive Thesis

This thesis rests on what might be called an "axiom of linguistic dualism," viz. that there are two sorts of language, one sort called by Wheelwright "Steno-language" appropriate to science, the other, "Depth-language" appropriate to religion.¹⁹ Much ingenuity has been dedicated to distinguishing these two, and few doubt that there are important differences. But the direction of recent analysis, which is toward pluralism, tends to break down the old distinctions between cognitive and non-cognitive, factual and emotive, literal and symbolic, and even descriptive and non-descriptive. As regards religious expression it is increasingly apparent that instead of the functions ascribed to "literal" and "symbolic" language being uncombinable they are, in many instances, inseparable.²⁰

But aside from debating possibilities in the abstract or historical actualities in the concrete (for it can be shown historically that the original users of the phrase "God sent His Son" both by intent and reference were speaking descriptively) let us simply ask the question: Have the proponents of this thesis themselves achieved what they say is essential and all-important? Have they succeeded in their own writings in purging religious expression of its literal and descriptive elements? The answer is that neither before nor after their laborious symbolic transformations do they obey their own strictures. Their books and

¹⁹See Wheelwright's efforts to distinguish the two in his *The Burning Fountain* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1954).

²⁰See the discussion "Cognitive and Non-Cognitive" in the volume, *Language, Thought and Culture*, ed. by Paul Henle, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958) written by W. K. Frankena, chap. 6.

articles assert and deny, interpret and relate, compare and contrast descriptive concepts derived from their "symbols," and "myths," in ways which show that they themselves ascribe to them descriptive and propositional status.

Examples of this sort of thing are legion, but let us select one case from the writings of each camp:

1. The neo-positivist argues that our type-expression is functional, and that its use must be justified on non-factual grounds. But having so insisted in theory, his own reductions and comparisons, e.g. to worshipful, ritualistic, fictional, or ideological expression reintroduce descriptive concepts. Suppose we accept Kai Nelson's translation. It is involved in description which revises both the subject and predicate of the sentence. It is, "I am committed to the Christian way of life," a statement about the self. Or, "I believe the Christian ideology has worthwhile effects," a statement both about the self and the effects of the beliefs of the self. Such assertions are true or false, whatever may be said about the process of verification. The neo-positivists, then, have not transcended descriptive usage but have substituted a self-reflexive for a theological interpretation.

2. Analyzing the type-sentence of this paper Tillich concludes "... all this if taken literally is absurd. If it is taken symbolically it is a profound expression. ..." Tillich devotes Volume I of his *Systematic Theology* to the question of God, and Volume II to the meaning of "Jesus as the Christ." Under criticism he revises his claim that all religious expressions are symbolic and that *no* literal statement about God is possible and, to avoid a kind of symbolic solipsism, introduces one unsymbolic statement, viz. "God is Being-itself."²¹ The sentence in question, "God sent His Son" is "broken" or "deliteralized" of its finite connotations. Tillich claims that its implicit meaning is the one above. Its explicit meaning, paraphrased, is that the Christ-symbol (for the *event* of Jesus in history is religiously unimportant. Only the emergence of the Christ-symbol in which the New Testament community portrayed its ultimate concern,

²¹See *Theology of Paul Tillich*, *op. cit.*, p. 335. Also the introduction to Vol. II of *Systematic Theology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10, where he changes the position to say the only symbolic statement we can make about God is "the statement that everything we say about God is symbolic." Aside from being paradoxical, this is not a statement "about God" but a statement about language.

is relevant) "mediates," "expresses," "participates," or "opens up" healing effects in the depth-self of man.

Is this an escape from descriptivism? Hardly. It "translates" "God sent His Son" into two sorts of sentences: 1. "God is Being-Itself" the predicate of which Tillich elsewhere interprets variously as meaning "source," "ground," "creative abyss," inconsistently *denying* that *these* terms are "symbolic." 2. "The Christ-symbol has healing effects in my inmost self." Both of these are propositions, however obscure their meaning or validation in Tillich's system. The latter sentence is close in function to the sentence as analyzed by the neo-positivist. Examination of other phrases in Tillich's labyrinthine theology yields comparable results. And this inconsistent return to descriptivism in Tillich can likewise be found in Niebuhr and Bultmann.

3. As for the Neo-Thomists, an obvious use of univocal concepts and language is the official dogma that in a very real descriptive sense (however "mysterious" the explanation, it occupied much of the attention of the Scholastics and was and is sustained by Aristotelian categories) God not only *sent* but *now sends* His Son into the substantial form of the Eucharist. This is a literal belief, a proposition, non-scientific to be sure, but not simply the manipulation of analogical terms in the manner required by the prescribed theory of *analogia entis*.

The Non-Translatability Thesis

The three theories admit that there are ideological or symbolic or analogical synonyms of religious language and presumably, therefore, for our type-sentence. What they deny is that translation into descriptive, literal, or univocal terms is possible.

But, as the above examples illustrate, they themselves are involved in such translation. And one suspects that the thesis of non-translatability is introduced to protect their particular interpretations from alternative readings plausible or implausible.²² Moreover, in many instances their procedures are based, not on strict textual or contextual fidelity to "original intent" or "or-

²²The overall direction (with important exceptions) of the neo-positivist and neo-symbolic interpretation is toward naturalism. This may be the root of J. N. Findlay's comment, "I am by temperament a Protestant, and I tend towards atheism as the purest form of Protestantism." He adds that it is hard to be a theist without falling into idolatry with its attendant evils of intolerance and persecution. "Can God's Existence be Disproved?" *Mind*, 1948, p. 49.

dinary usage" but rather on principles of their own construction the assumptions and grounds of which are often remote from the documents interpreted.

In fact, of course, the phrase "God sent His Son" can be and has been put in other terms of descriptive significance. These are more or less synonymous, more or less abstract or concrete, expressively adequate, and denotatively precise. It is also obvious that the phrase can be taken as a kind of code-language for whatever the person who uses the terms wishes them to mean.

The Non-Verifiability Thesis

The denial, finally, that verification of religious language is in any sense parallel to the verification of perceptual or scientific judgments depends for its cogency upon the other three theses.

But if there remain, as we have argued, belief-ful descriptive elements in the most refined ideological, "symbolic" or "analogical" expressions, and if, as we have shown, "God sent His Son" for each theorist harbors assertional meaning, then this and other religious expressions are not excluded from the context of verification. As part of such context certain techniques may be appropriate to validation which are not simply matters of the positivist's "effects," the symbolist's "inward impact," or the analogist's appeal to "tradition and authority."

It may be added that many who overcome the problem of religious language by maintaining that the Divine (or the encounter with the Divine) is "ineffable" or "inexpressible" have yet insisted upon a path, or way or process whereby their insights might be gained or regained. In short, even the extreme mystic does not disregard the verifiability or religious *insight*, though he does of religious language.

These theorists, therefore, are in the strange predicament of maintaining against the mystic that discourse about God and the encounter with God is legitimate (if properly interpreted) while denying that such language is descriptive or verifiable. This is doubly paradoxical because their own practices of interpretation violate the denial. The mystic is more consistent. His ultimate position is silence.

It would be interesting to investigate the question: What

brought these three movements to conclusions which admit of such objections. Aren't there ground and motives for these theses which render such criticism irrelevant?

In partial reply it should be said that both this summation of the views in question and the criticisms posed are far less complex than full treatment would require. Other model sentences, for example, would have brought to light further facets of the theories and, as I believe, further difficulties.

But one major need or problem out of which these theories have arisen is as simple as it is ancient, and leads to our conclusion:

When an expression (which in ordinary religious language serves as a statement) "God sent His Son" is affirmed, but finds itself, as through the centuries it frequently has, challenged by contemporary beliefs, methods and attitudes, its advocate has three main alternatives:

1. Conclude the statement is false.
2. Defend the statement as true (whatever its meaning) regardless of its conflict with other assumed truths whether scientific, philosophical or religious.
3. Maintain that the expression is not a descriptive statement, not true or false in the usual sense, that it does not mean what it seems to mean, that it is non-literal, and is a performative utterance, an expression of deep religious concern, or a statement of proportional analogy.

On the surface it is the third strategy that our theorists follow. And the result is that theological utterances are made palatable in an otherwise hostile environment. But for many in the Christian tradition this can hardly be thought a service. For often the theorists have actually taken the first position—the statement is false—and then introduced another meaning with the explanation that this is the real meaning, the deeper meaning, the genuinely symbolic meaning. When "interpretation" becomes substitution it is actually denial.

Aside, however, from matters of historical usage and original intent, the point of our analysis is that this projected "flight from the literal and descriptive" has proved impossible in practice for those most insistent upon it. It has involved them in contradictions and difficulties more serious, perhaps, than those

the theses were designed to avoid. The "Transcendent" is made immanent, the "literally undescrivable" is literally described, the "untranslatable" is translated, and that which is "beyond belief and verification" is yet reintroduced into the context of belief and verification.

From this vantage, at least, the question is: Is it in any sense a gain to take a sentence which some believe incredible and transform it into sentences which all can know to be self-contradictory?

The Political Kingdom of God as a Cause for Mormon-Gentile Conflict

KLAUS HANSEN

The afternoon of October 30, 1838, saw one of the most brutal butcheries of men and children ever to occur in the annals of the state of Missouri. At about four o'clock, relates Joseph Young, one of the eyewitnesses, "a large company of armed men, on horses" advanced towards a mill on Shoal Creek, where about thirty Mormon families had gathered for refuge. Defenseless, the Saints scattered, some into the woods, others into a blacksmith shop. Overtaken by the mob, nineteen men and boys were killed, a dozen wounded. One nine-year-old boy had found refuge under the bellows. Discovered by a mobster, the child was killed by a gun-blast in the head. Boasted the butcher afterwards: "Nits will make lice, and if he had lived he would have become a Mormon."¹

The shots of the Haun's Mill massacre were to keep ringing in the ears of the Saints, reminding them that Satan was fighting with real bullets against the Kingdom of God, a kingdom that, if it was not of this world, nevertheless marched vigorously and militantly in it. Persecution, then, was to be expected. It had been with the Church from the publication of Joseph Smith's first revelation; it was to continue throughout the history of the Church in the nineteenth century. Joseph himself was to seal his testimony with his blood. Even the exodus to the Rocky Mountains would not silence the voice of persecution. Not until the Saints had submitted to the government demands for the abolition of plural marriage was the conflict between the Church and the world to diminish, finally to end.

To the faithful Saint, the problem of historical causation found a simple and straightforward answer. As already implied, Satan would inevitably have to oppose the work of God; this

Mr. Hansen is a graduate student in history at Wayne State University.

¹William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, *Among the Mormons* (New York, 1958), p. 103.

opposition became in itself one of the touchstones for the divinity of the work; and the blood of the martyrs was transformed into seed for the Church.

But in addition to such considerations the historian should search for other objective, historical elements of causation. In the history of Mormon-Gentile relations one of the most significant institutions contributing to the conflict has so far received altogether too little, if any, attention. This institution is the political Kingdom of God.

First of all, then, the development of the political Kingdom of God in Mormon history will have to be outlined. Space limitations will obviously limit the comprehensiveness and scope of this investigation, a task made even more difficult by the fact that large stretches of the course of the political Kingdom of God are still uncharted.² Consequently, only a sampling of incidences of conflict at certain crucial periods of church history will be made to suggest general trends.

It should be remembered that in history beliefs are equally as important as facts. Whether or not Joseph Smith actually planned treasonable action against the United States fades into a pale academic question before the bullets of assassins who believed that this was so, irrespective of fact. Likewise, the political Kingdom of God caused persecution more by its distorted image in the eyes of its enemies than by the actual ideals and realities it represented in the eyes of its adherents and defenders.

The strong emphasis on the millennial Kingdom in Mormon thought has led some writers to believe that the idea of a political Kingdom preceding the second coming of Christ was never entertained by the Saints. Mormonism was not to establish a temporal Kingdom, but to wait for Christ.³ This erroneous no-

²Various aspects of the political Kingdom of God have received recent attention. See Hyrum Andrus, *Joseph Smith and World Government* (Salt Lake City, 1958); Alfred L. Bush and K. J. Hansen, "Notes towards a definition of the Council of Fifty," (mimeographed MS, Brigham Young University Library, 1957); James R. Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah" (dissertation, Utah State University, 1958); James R. Clark, "The Kingdom of God, the Council of Fifty and the State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (1958), 130-148; Klaus J. Hansen, "The Theory and Practice of the Political Kingdom of God in Mormon History, 1829-1890" (thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959).

³See G. Homer Durham, *Joseph Smith, Prophet-Statesman* (Salt Lake City,

tion may have been caused partly by the fact that it is extremely difficult to differentiate between the apocalyptic Kingdom and its predecessor. Since the one was to lead to the other, they were to be almost identical in nature, at least theoretically. The main difference between the two was mostly a matter of chronology. The one would be the kingdom militant, struggling against a hostile world; the other was the kingdom victorious, having subdued all its enemies. The political Kingdom, then, was organized because the Mormons did not believe that they could wait for Christ to establish his world government without some preparation. The Saints may have believed in miracles; but they were also of a practical mind and thus believed in aiding the Lord as much as they could. Seen in this context, the efforts of the Saints to establish a political kingdom in preparation for the apocalyptic Kingdom became the application of the belief that, while man can accomplish nothing without the aid of the Lord, God only helps those who help themselves. This idea found expression by John Taylor, who once remarked that "It is not all a matter of faith, but there is some action required; it is a thing that we have to engage in ourselves."⁴

Thus, the Saints had been engaged in temporal matters almost from the day the Church was founded. Experience in government they had gained in Kirtland, Missouri, Nauvoo and, most of all, in Deseret. "The time will come," predicted George Q. Cannon at a missionary conference in 1862,

when . . . [the elders] will be called to act in a different ambassadorial capacity. The nations are not going to be all destroyed at once, as many have imagined; but they are going to stand and continue to some extent with their governments; and the kingdom of God is not all the time to continue its present theological character alone, but is to become a political power, known and recognized by the powers of the earth; and you, my brethren, may have to be sent forth to represent that power as its accredited agents Young men now here today may be chosen to go forth and represent God's kingdom. You may be called to appear and represent it at the courts of foreign nations⁵

1944), p. 101; Therald N. Jensen, "Mormon Theory of Church and State" (dissertation, University of Chicago), p. 20; Keith Melville, "The Political Ideas of Brigham Young" (dissertation, University of Utah, 1950), p. 11.

⁴*Journal of Discourses*, IX (1862), 341. (Hereafter cited as *J.D.*)

⁵*Millennial Star*, XXIV (1862), 103.

What Cannon failed to tell his audience was the fact that the Kingdom of God had already embarked on its political course, almost twenty years earlier.

In the spring of 1844, Reuben Hedlock, president of the British mission, received a letter from Brigham Young and Willard Richards in which the writers informed him that "the Kingdom is organized; and although as yet no bigger than a grain of mustard seed, the little plant is in a flourishing condition, and our prospects brighter than ever."⁶ Such news must have seemed strange to a man who had been actively engaged in furthering the "kingdom" for some time, unless the term "kingdom" expressed here a more specific meaning than in its usual context which equated it with the Church in both its spiritual and temporal manifestations. Young and Richards were, indeed, referring to the political Kingdom of God, whose governing body had been organized on March 11, 1844, as the Council of Fifty by the Prophet Joseph Smith himself.⁷ According to one of its members, this council was "the Municipal department of the Kingdom of God set up on the Earth, and from which all Law emanates, for the rule, government & controle of all Nations Kingdoms & touns and People under the whole Heavens."⁸ In order to prepare itself for this ambitious mission, the Council met regularly in Nauvoo to discuss principles of government and political theory under the leadership of Joseph Smith. Before the prophet's death, "a full and complete organization" of the political Kingdom of God had been effected.⁹

⁶*Ibid.*, XXIII (1861), 422.

⁷This is the date given in the *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (2d ed., Salt Lake City, 1950), VI, 260-261, (hereafter cited as *D.H.C.*), and in the "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star*, XXVI (1864), 328. For reference to a revelation concerning the organization of this body, received by the Prophet as early as April 7, 1842, see "Minutes of the Council of Fifty," (typed MS, Brigham Young University Library), April 10, 1880. The official name of the council apparently was to be kept a secret. "General Council," "Council of the Kingdom," "Council of the Gods," and "Living Constitution" are some of the names applied to the council in the literature referring to it. The term "Council of Fifty," referring to the approximate number of members, appears to have been used most frequently and was, therefore, adopted to identify the council in this paper.

⁸John D. Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, ed. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks (San Marino, California, 1955), I, 80.

⁹Brigham Young, *J.D.*, XVII (1875), 156.

The basic law of this world-government, received through revelation, resembled the constitution of the United States.

In keeping with a strong Mormon emphasis on the doctrine of individual rights, non-Mormons were to represent the Gentiles in the government of the Kingdom. Whether or not Gentiles actually sat as members of the Council of Fifty is difficult to ascertain, but the possibility points up a significant distinction between the Church and the political Kingdom. When, after the death of Joseph Smith, George Miller and Alexander Badlam wanted to "call together the Council of Fifty and organize the Church," apostles George A. Smith and Willard Richards could inform the two petitioners "that the Council of Fifty was not a Church organization." Membership in that group was irrespective of religious beliefs; "the organization of the Church belonged to the Priesthood alone."¹⁰ But if the distinction between the Church and the political Kingdom seemed important in one sense, in another it was highly theoretical, for the leading officers of both organizations were identical.

When David Patten became the first apostolic martyr of the Church at the battle of Crooked River in Missouri, in October, 1838, the doctrine of the political Kingdom of God apparently had not been fully formulated. And yet, even at this time the suspected Mormon ambitions to establish a political Kingdom of God figured prominently in the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri. The testimonies of a number of apostate Mormons before Judge Austin A. King at Richmond, Ray County, in 1838, insisted that Joseph Smith had in mind to establish a temporal kingdom of God. These testimonies, given by enemies of the Church, can hardly be considered accurate and unbiased. Some of them are obvious distortions of Joseph's plans, such as George M. Hinckle's assertion, that

The general teachings of the presidency were, that the kingdom they were setting up was a *temporal* as well as a spiritual kingdom; that it was the little stone spoken of by Daniel. Until lately, the teachings of the church appeared to be peaceable, and that the kingdom was to be set up peaceably; but lately a different idea has been advanced—that the time had come when this kingdom was to be set up by forcible means, if necessary.¹¹

¹⁰D.H.C., VII, 213.

¹¹U.S., Congress, Senate, *Testimony in Trial of Joseph Smith, Jr., for High*

But in the light of subsequent events the temporal if peaceful plans of Joseph Smith cannot be denied.

The fact that Joseph Smith insisted on leadership in both spiritual and temporal matters also caused some internal difficulties in the Church. Thus, refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Church in temporal matters played an important role in the excommunication of Oliver Cowdery. Answering charges "for virtually denying the faith by declaring that he would not be governed by any ecclesiastical authority or revelations whatever in his temporal affairs,"¹² Cowdery declared:

The very principle of . . . [ecclesiastical authority in temporal affairs] I conceive to be couched in an attempt to set up a kind of petty government, controlled and dictated by ecclesiastical influence, in the midst of this national and state government. You will, no doubt, say this is not correct; but the bare notice of these charges, over which you assume a right to decide is, in my opinion, a direct attempt to make the secular power subservient to church direction—to the correctness of which I cannot in conscience subscribe—I believe that the principle never did fail to produce anarchy and confusion.¹³

But Cowdery's objections were shared by few of the Saints. Neither did the temporal claims of Joseph Smith deter the influx of converts to the city of Nauvoo after the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri, in spite of the fact that civil and ecclesiastical government were practically identical in that city. And to the faithful Saints, who were building the Kingdom by building their city, it may have been difficult to imagine how it could have been otherwise. Thus, they would see no incongruity when their prophet made the celebration of the eleventh anniversary of the organization of the Church not only the occasion for the laying of the cornerstone of their new temple, but showed himself head of the Nauvoo Legion in an impressive display of newly acquired temporal power. Carried away by their enthusi-

Treason, 26th Cong., 2d Sess., 1841, Senate Doc. 189, p. 23. Parley P. Pratt, referring to this investigation, wrote in his autobiography: "this court of inquisition inquired diligently into our belief of the seventh chapter of Daniel concerning the kingdom of God, which should subdue all other kingdoms and stand forever. And when told that we believe in that prophecy, the court turned to the clerk and said: 'write that down; it is a strong point for treason.' Our lawyer observed as follows: 'Judge, you had better make the Bible treason.' The court made no reply." Quoted in *D.H.C.*, III, 212.

¹²Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1930), I, 431-432.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 433.

asm, the Saints believed that in time this power would be able "to rescue the American Republic from the brink of ruin."¹⁴

Exulted the *Millennial Star*:

Nauvoo . . . is the nucleus of a glorious dominion of universal liberty, peace and plenty; it is an organization of that government of which there shall be no end—of that kingdom of Messiah which shall roll forth, from conquering and to conquer until it shall be said, that "*the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ,*" "AND THE SAINTS OF THE MOST HIGH SHALL POSSESS THE GREATNESS OF THE KINGDOM UNDER THE WHOLE HEAVEN."¹⁵

The editor of the *Millennial Star* most likely did not know that shortly before this article appeared Joseph Smith had received his revelation concerning world government and the organization of the Council of Fifty.¹⁶ Gentiles, of course, were even less informed about Joseph Smith's plans for the organization of the political Kingdom of God. But after the Council of Fifty had been organized in 1844 its existence may have been kept secret for a while, but not its activities. For it was this council which organized and supported Joseph's candidacy for the presidency of the United States as one of several alternatives for the possible establishment of the political Kingdom. Negotiations were also entered in with Sam Houston for the acquisition of a large tract of land in the Texas region as an alternate possibility for the settling of the Saints and the establishment of the Kingdom of God. Furthermore, scouting expeditions were sent west to explore yet another possible location for the future Kingdom.

The secrecy of Council of Fifty deliberations may well have been a protective measure not only against the possibility of misunderstanding by the Gentiles but by the Saints as well. Benjamin F. Johnson, one of the charter members of the Council of Fifty, declared that only after attending some of its meetings did he and his associates begin,

. . . in a degree to understand the meaning of what he [Joseph Smith] had so often publicly said, that should he teach and practice the principles that the Lord had revealed to

¹⁴*Millennial Star*, III (1842), 67-69.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁶"Minutes of the Council of Fifty," April 10, 1880.

him, and now requested of him, that those then nearest to him in the stand would become his enemies and the first to seek his life.¹⁷

But secrecy, to some degree, destroyed its own purpose, for it contributed to false rumors and half truths which gave to the political Kingdom, in the eyes of Gentiles and apostates, the aspect of the sinister and the subversive. The opposition that led directly to the assassination of the Prophet was partly caused by rumors "that the Mormons entertained the treasonable design, when they got strong enough, of overthrowing the government, driving out the old population and taking possession of the country, as the children of Israel did in the land of Canaan."¹⁸ The Laws and Foster, in the *Nauvoo Expositor*, objected, among other things, against "any man as king or law-giver in the church." Wilson Law, after his excommunication, even made an attempt to obtain a warrant against Joseph Smith for treason on the grounds that on one occasion, while listening to the Prophet preaching from Daniel 1:44, he heard him declare "That the kingdom referred to was already set up, and that he was the king over it."¹⁹ Governor Ford, in his *History of Illinois*, gives a highly imaginative account of Joseph's temporal aspirations, the source of which must ultimately be sought in the secret deliberations of the Council of Fifty:

It seems, from the best information that could be got from the best men who had seceded from the Mormon Church, that Joe Smith about this time conceived the idea of making himself a temporal prince as well as spiritual leader of his people. He instituted a new and select order of the priesthood, the members of which were to be priests and kings temporally and spiritually. These were to be his nobility, who were to be the upholders of his throne. He caused himself to be crowned and anointed king and priest, far above the rest; and he prescribed the form of an oath of allegiance to himself, which he administered to his principal followers. To uphold his pretensions to royalty, he deduced his descent by an unbroken chain from Joseph the son of Jacob, and that of his wife from some other renowned personage of Old Testament history. The Mormons openly denounced the government of the United

¹⁷Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, between April and October, 1903 (typed MS at Brigham Young University Library), p. 9.

¹⁸LeRoy Hafen and Carl C. Rister, *Western America* (2d ed., New York, 1950), p. 335.

¹⁹*Millennial Star*, XXIV (1862), 359.

States as utterly corrupt, and as being about to pass away, and to be replaced by the government of God, to be administered by his servant Joseph.²⁰

Had fact and fiction, curiously intermingled in this document, been separated, and had Governor Ford and the enemies of Mormonism been informed of the truth concerning the Kingdom of God—that it was to be established entirely by peaceful, legal means, and that the Saints believed that worldly governments would dwindle of their own accord, or rather by their wickedness—persecution would most likely have been just as relentless. Theocracy, no matter of what form, was highly obnoxious to most mid-19th century Americans. The Saints themselves were not unaware of the fact that kingdom-building was a major cause for persecution and to a large degree responsible for the death of Joseph Smith. E. W. Tullidge, writing in the *Millennial Star*, observed:

It is because there has, day after day, and year after year, grown up and fast spread in America a realization, and with it a fear of the empire-founding character of "Mormonism" and the "Mormons," that this Church has such heartrending pages in its history. It is because of the growth of this presentiment and fear that a Joseph, a Hyrum, a Parley, a David Patten, and many others of the chief Elders and Saints have been directly or indirectly Martyred.²¹

Martyrdom, however, contrary to Gentile hopes and expectations, proved no deterrent to Mormon ambitions of building the Kingdom. If anything, the Saints continued their efforts with renewed vigor.

How deeply the idea of the establishment of a theocratic Kingdom of God had been embedded in Mormon thinking was revealed by the succession controversy and its resulting schisms. Alexander Badlam and George Miller, as mentioned previously, wanted to "call together the Council of Fifty and organize the Church." Lyman Wight, who led a colony of Saints to Texas, likewise considered the authority of the Council of Fifty superior to that of the Quorum of the Twelve, and lamented the fact that the reorganization of the Church had not taken place under the leadership of the legislature of the Kingdom of

²⁰Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), pp. 321-322.

²¹*Millennial Star*, XXIII (1861), 125.

God.²² Splinter groups such as the Hedrickites, Morrisites, Bickertonites, and Brewsterites attempted to establish theocratic governments. Gladden Bishop, who attracted a group of Wisconsin Saints to his cause after the death of the Prophet, organized, according to one observer, "what he calls the Kingdom of God, and it was the queerest performance I ever saw."²³ James Strang, one of the most vociferous claimants to the mantle of the Prophet, insisted on the establishment not only of a church but a political Kingdom of God and had himself installed as king of a theocratic community on Beaver Island. If Strang may never have been a member of the Council of Fifty himself, his organization, nevertheless, looked like a highly garbled product of that Council. The fact that Strang claimed two former members of Joseph's legislature of the Kingdom as his followers would suggest that any similarities between Smith's ideas of the Kingdom and those of his self-styled successor were more than coincidental.

It seems only logical to assume, then, that Brigham Young, whose claim as the rightful heir to the mantle of the Prophet was sustained by a special conference of the Church held in Nauvoo on August 8, 1844, would continue the organization of the political Kingdom of God. Under his practical leadership, the Council of Fifty assumed the responsibility of directing both the policies and the administration of the government of Nauvoo. Even more important, the group resumed its earlier activities of looking for a place where the Saints could settle peacefully and establish the Kingdom without Gentile interference. As a result, the Council of Fifty was both to organize and direct the exodus of the Saints to the Rocky Mountains.

It seems not surprising, then, that the Gentiles would capitalize on rumors of the existence of a secret council in the city. In a writ issued for the arrest of prominent citizens of Nauvoo for treasonable designs against the state mention was made, among other things, of a private council of which the accused supposedly were members.²⁴ And John S. Fullmer, a member

²²Joseph Smith and Heman C. Smith (ed.), *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1836-1844* (Lamoni, Iowa, 1920), II, 90-91.

²³Sarah Scott to her mother Abigail Hall, March 31, 1848, in George F. Partridge (ed.), "The death of a Mormon Dictator. Letters of Massachusetts Mormons, 1843-1848," *The New England Quarterly*, IX (1936), 614.

²⁴D.H.C., VII, 444.

of the Council of Fifty, reported while on an errand for the Council that

... the apostates are trying to get up an influence with the president of the United States to prevent the Saints emigrating westward, and that they have written to the president informing him of the resolutions of the General Council [Council of Fifty] [sic] to move westward, and representing that Council guilty of treason, etc.²⁵

But as subjective a term as treason leaves wide room for interpretation; and neither the Federal Government nor the Council of Fifty saw any impediments that would prevent Mormon men from wearing the uniform of the U. S. army. If one member of the Council of Fifty, no doubt voicing the sentiments of many of the Saints, nevertheless declared that he "was glad to learn of war against the United States and was in hopes that it might never end until they were entirely destroyed,"²⁶ such a statement must be recognized as an expression of hyperbole caused by the intensity of the persecution. Furthermore, the fine distinction made by Brigham Young between loyalty to the Constitution and "the damned rascals who administer the government"²⁷ was no doubt adopted by most Mormons who saw in this expression a possibility of reconciling American patriotism with kingdom-building. Words that must have inevitably sounded like treason to gentile ears might well have been uttered, then, by a faithful Mormon who may have considered himself an exemplary patriot. But the enemies of Mormonism, understandably enough, refused to accept what to them may have appeared merely a semantic distinction. And sand and sagebrush proved little more of a barrier than semantics. As a result, controversy followed the Saints to their refuge; only too soon, the halls of Congress would pick up the echoes of conflict from the everlasting mountains and keep them reverberating until not only polygamy, but the political dreams of a Mormon empire, likewise, would be crushed.

But in 1847 and the years immediately following these dreams seemed on the verge of realization. Guided by Brigham Young and the Council of Fifty, the Saints, under heroic sacrifices, began to carve a verdant empire from an arid desert. The

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 495-498.

²⁶Diaries of Hosea Stout (typed copies of originals, Brigham Young Uni-

reins of government for this empire in embryo were placed in the hands of the Council of Fifty, which controlled the legislature of the state of Deseret and established its ambitious boundaries. Exulted the *Millennial Star*: "The nucleus of the mightiest nation that ever occupied the earth is at length established in the very place where the prophets, wrapt in sacred vision, have long since foreseen it."²⁸ Brigham Young himself, in a sermon to the Saints, declared that the Kingdom of God was "actually organized and the inhabitants of the earth do not know it."²⁹ That he was referring to the political Kingdom and not its spiritual counterpart was made clear in the context of the sermon. President Young made this statement in 1855, although the establishment of Territorial government in 1851 had, at least nominally, ended theocratic government. This change, however, had diminished the controlling influence of the Council of Fifty but little and was, furthermore, looked upon as merely an expedient until the Saints could obtain statehood for their commonwealth. Statehood, in pre-Civil War days, would have given the Council of Fifty virtually a free hand in regulating the affairs of the Kingdom of God. Frank Cannon's contention that the Mormons attempted to gain admission to the Union in order to escape the Union's authority, as paradoxical as this may sound, has, then, a kernel of truth in it.³⁰ Thus it was not polygamy alone which was to keep Utah under the rule of carpetbag Federal officials for such a long time.

The opposition which the Kingdom of God was to encounter in its new Zion already began to rise dimly on Utah's political horizon in 1849. If a prophet could have had access to a letter in the territorial papers of the U. S. Senate, referred to the Committee on Territories on December 31, 1849, he would have recognized accusations that were to be reiterated again and again, for over fifty years. This petition of William Smith, brother of the Prophet Joseph and former member of the Council of Fifty, and "others, members of the Church of Latter-day

versity Library), II, 253-254.

²⁸Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City), September 8, 1851, p. 4.

²⁹XIX (1857), 630.

³⁰J.D., II (1855), 310.

³¹Frank J. Cannon and George L. Knapp, *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire* (New York, 1913), p. 117.

Saints, against the admission of the Salt Lake Mormons into the Union as a State," maintained that the petitioners

... know most assuredly that Salt Lake Mormonism is diametrically in opposition to the pure principles of virtue, liberty, and equality, and that the rulers of the Salt Lake Church are bitter and inveterate enemies of our government. They entertain treasonable designs against the liberties of American freeborn sons and daughters of freedom. They have elected Brigham Young, (who is the president of their church) to be the Governor of the proposed State of Deseret. Their intention is to unite church and state and whilst the political power of the Roman pontiff is passing away, the American tyrant is endeavoring to establish a new order of political popery in the recesses of the mountains of America. . . .³¹

If the Saints failed to obtain statehood for Deseret in 1850, however, this was not so much due to possible Mormon antagonism in Congress, which at this time was negligible. But the sectional controversy over slavery worked just as effectively to frustrate Mormon ambitions. Territorial government for Utah was one of the results of the compromise of 1850.³²

The arrival of federal officials in the summer of 1851 gave a preview of things to come. To their perhaps a little naive amazement they found organized government already well established. The celerity with which the Saints had responded to their new status and had called for the election of a territorial legislature and officers gave the newly arrived officials a vague feeling that the Saints were attempting to run things their own way. Whatever the causes for the speedy elections, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that the Council of Fifty may have thought it much easier to exert its influence on the formation of the new legislature without the supervision and interference of possibly unsympathetic Gentile members of the new government. This conjecture may serve as an added explanation for what the federal appointees, on their arrival, considered undue haste in the formation of the new government.

B. D. Harris, territorial secretary, flatly refused to recognize the legislature as a legal body. The secretary's obstinacy, and some unwise and tactless remarks by Judge Brocchus concerning

³¹U.S. Congress, Senate, Territorial Papers 1789-1873; Utah, December 13, 1849-June 11, 1870.

³²See Richard D. Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics, 1850-56," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXV (1957), 117.

the virtue of the ladies in the territory, touched off a controversy that was to give the Mormons a first taste of the difficulties with federal officials that were to plague them for forty years. If this explosion was ultimately to bring the "twin relic" into national prominence, the immediate cause for the conflict had, nevertheless, primarily been the theocratic nature of the new government. This controversy was to take on larger proportions in the not too distant future. For the time being, however, more serious difficulties were avoided by the rapid departure of the "foreign" officials from the territory.³³

President Buchanan's ill-starred Utah expedition of 1857-58 was to a large degree a reaction of the northern Democrats to the Republican "twin relics" platform of 1856.³⁴ This crusade against polygamy, however, threatened the political Kingdom quite as much, since the two seemed inseparably connected. When the first news of the approaching army reached Salt Lake City, Brigham Young seriously considered secession from the Union. In a speech on August 2, 1857, he declared:

The time must come when there will be a separation between this kingdom and the kingdoms of this world. Even in every point of view, the time must come when this kingdom must be free and independent of all other kingdoms.

Are you prepared to have the thread cut today? . . . I shall take it as a witness that God desires to cut the thread between us and the world when an army undertakes to make their appearance in this Territory to chastise me or to destroy my life from the earth. . . . We will wait a little while to see; but I shall take a hostile move by our enemies as an evidence that it is time for the thread to be cut.³⁵

But the superior strength of Colonel Johnston's troops and Brigham Young's good sense opened a wide interpretation to the term *hostile move*. The mediating efforts of Colonel Kane and the moderation and tact of Governor Cumming further convinced President Young that the Lord apparently did not want the thread cut at this particular time, and the conflict found a peaceful solution.

Young's speech, however, had made it clear that irrespective

³³U.S., President, 1850-53 (Fillmore), *Message from the President of the United States Transmitting Information in reference to the condition of affairs in the Territory of Utah*, 34th Cong., 1st sess., Executive Doc. No. 25.

³⁴Poll, p. 131.

³⁵Journal History, August 2, 1857.

of historical exigencies the political Kingdom of God was bound to achieve independence. But if the Lord would indicate to the Saints when the propitious moment for cutting the thread with the world had come they must be prepared. They must watch themselves for the time when the political Kingdom of God could send its accredited ambassadors abroad.

The outbreak of the Civil War seemed to portend the speedy consummation of these hopes. Joseph Smith himself had predicted that war, beginning in South Carolina, would envelop the earth and lead to the "full end of all nations."³⁶ The destruction to be poured out over the United States was to be a punishment for her failure to redress the wrongs committed against the Saints. Such failure, predicted the Prophet Joseph, would result in the utter destruction of the government. "Not so much as a potsherd [would] be left."³⁷ Remembering these prophecies, the church leaders predicted the inevitability of conflict even before the outbreak of hostilities. Anti-Mormon writers charged the Mormons with desiring a confederate victory. What the Saints really seem to have hoped for, at least during the beginning of the war, was a mutual destruction of both sides. Such expectations find expression in the diary of Charles Walker who, in 1861, wrote:

The Virginians are preparing to seize the capital at Washington, and where it will end they know not, but the Saints know and understand it all. . . . Bro. Brigham spoke of the things in the East said he hoped they would both gain the victory said he had as much sympathy for them as the Gods and Angels had for the Devils in Hell.³⁸

But whatever the rhetorical expressions of the Mormons and their leaders, no openly hostile actions towards the government occurred. The Saints assumed a waiting attitude; if the Lord saw fit to permit the destruction of the United States they would be ready to take over. Declared Heber C. Kimball: "We shall never secede from the Constitution of the United States. We shall not stop on the way of progress, but we shall make prepa-

³⁶*The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1951), section 87.

³⁷*D.H.C.* V, 394.

³⁸Diary of Charles Walker (typed copy of original, Brigham Young University Library), I, 225.

rations for future events. . . . God will make the people free as fast as we are able to bear it."³⁹

In keeping with this idea of preparedness, the Council of Fifty held itself in readiness to take over when other earthly governments would have crumbled. After it had failed to obtain statehood for its revived state of Deseret in 1862, the Council nevertheless continued the state organization in the enigmatic meetings of the so-called ghost legislature of Deseret which convened the day after the close of the session of the territorial legislature during the 1860's. A private message given to this "legislature" by Brigham Young in 1863 reveals its nature and its purpose:

Many may not be able to tell why we are in this capacity.

I do not think that you see this thing as it is. Our organization will be kept up. We may not do much at present in this capacity, yet what we have done or shall do will have its effect. . . . This body of men will give laws to the nations of the earth. We meet here in our second Annual Legislature, and I do not care whether you pass any laws this Session or not, but I do not wish you to lose one inch of ground you have gained in your organization, but hold fast to it, for this is the Kingdom of God. . . . We are called the State Legislature, but when the time comes, we shall be called the Kingdom of God. Our government is going to pieces, and it will be like water that is spilt upon the ground that cannot be gathered. . . . I do not care whether you sit one day or not. But I do not want you to lose any part of this Government which you have organized. For the time will come when we will give laws to the nations of the earth. Joseph Smith organized this government before, in Nauvoo, and he said if we did our duty, we should prevail over all our enemies. We should get all things ready, and when the time comes, we should let the water on the wheel and start the machine in motion.⁴⁰

But with the victorious emergence of the Union from the Civil War the Council of Fifty would have to find other ways of establishing the Kingdom, and the meetings of the ghost legislature were finally abandoned. There seemed to be no need for keeping the wheel in working order when water apparently was nowhere in sight.

Mormonism itself, nevertheless, seemed viable enough even

³⁹*Deseret News*, IX (May 1, 1861), 65. Note Kimball's careful wording: "We shall never secede from the Constitution. . ."

⁴⁰Journal History, January 19, 1863.

to its enemies that it apparently would not suddenly fall apart like Oliver Wendell Holmes' celebrated "One Hoss Shay." If vigorous measures seemed indicated to bring it to its doom, the cessation of polygamy alone, which became the avowed primary cause for persecution, would not automatically stop anti-Mormon attacks. The suspected activities of the political Kingdom of God, to some Gentiles, served as quite as important a cause to renew the crusade for the eradication of Mormonism. John Hyde, for instance, a Mormon apostate, declared: "As a religion, Mormonism cannot be meddled with; as a civil polity it may."⁴¹ "From its very inception," maintained another enemy of the Church, "Mormonism has . . . been essentially a politico-religious organization, and as such, has clashed with the governmental institutions of every state and territory in which it has acquired habitat."⁴²

This clash was to intensify with the increased influx of Gentiles into the territory after the advent of the railroad in 1869. The economic activities of these outsiders threatened the identity of the political Kingdom by drawing it into the economic pattern of the surrounding areas, largely dominated by eastern capital. As a result, the Council of Fifty had to tighten its muscles to protect the Kingdom of God. A program of defensive economic action, stressing self-sufficiency through home manufacture and boycott of Gentile merchants, was, according to the evidence available, decided upon by the Council of Fifty. Its implementation the Council placed in the hands of the School of the Prophets. Under the leadership of the "schools," almost every Mormon community in the territory saw the establishment of a cooperative store.⁴³

It is understandable, then, that waning profits would bolster

⁴¹*Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York, 1857), pp. 307-308.

⁴²Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *The Mormon Usurpation* (Huntington, L.I., 1899), pp. 6-7.

⁴³According to Professor Leonard Arrington, the School of the Prophets became the successor to the Council of Fifty (see *Great Basin Kingdom* [Cambridge, Mass., 1958], pp. 245-251). I disagree with this interpretation, however. For evidence that the Council of Fifty was active in the late 1860's and organized the cooperative movement see the Minutes of the Provo School of the Prophets, in the Provo Stake Tabernacle Records (microfilm copy, Brigham Young University Library), October 13, 1868, and the Records of the Bishops' Meetings, Provo, 1868-1875 (microfilm copy, Brigham Young University Library), October 13, 1868.

the anti-Mormon sentiments of Gentile merchants and lead to their support of such proposed anti-Mormon legislation as the Cullom Bill of 1870, aimed at wresting political control from the Saints through increased federal controls.

During the 70's and 80's, a veritable flood of printer's ink inundated the presses and carried a wave of anti-Mormon sentiment across the country. This sentiment, to be sure, was primarily directed against polygamy and, in retrospect, has somewhat drowned out the voices of those who saw the political Kingdom of God as Mormonism's greatest threat to America. These latter voices, however, were often raised in such a shrill tone that they could be heard even through the din of the anti-polygamy crusade. Beadle, for instance, author of the notorious *Life in Utah*, insisted that it was "the union of Church and State, or rather, the absolute subservience of the State to the Church, the latter merely using the outside organization to carry into effect decrees already concluded in secret council, that makes Mormonism our enemy."⁴⁴ The following excerpt from one of the numerous anti-Mormon pamphlets of the period further illustrates this position:

Had Deseret been admitted as a state of the Union, the States would been [sic] confronted not only by polygamy, a foul blot upon civilization, but by a state dominated by an autocratic hierarchy, whose cardinal principle it is that the so-called 'Kingdom of God on Earth,' i.e. the Mormon Church-State [sic] is the only legitimate government on earth, and that all other states and nations must eventually acknowledge its sway. The expurgation of this incubus upon the nation would undoubtedly have involved a civil war.⁴⁵

Another pamphlet, entitled *The Mormon Conspiracy to Establish an Independent Empire to be called the Kingdom of God on Earth; the Conspiracy Exposed by the Writings, Sermons and Legislative Acts of the Prophets and Apostles of the Church*, published in Salt Lake City by the Tribune Company, assessed the role of polygamy in the fight against the Kingdom of God:

Congress after Congress has been importuned by the saints for the privilege of coming in [to the Union], but the request has been denied each time, wholly on account of the polygamous

⁴⁴(Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 400-401.

⁴⁵Nimmo, p. 9.

practices of Utah's people, which they could not give up. How strange it is, that a matter of comparatively small consequence to the nation as polygamy is, should have served as the sole means of many years to hold in check this diabolical conspiracy for the founding of a theocratic empire in the very heart of the greatest and freest Republic the world has ever known!⁴⁶

However much Mormon ambitions were exaggerated and distorted, these articles, in places, nevertheless come close to the truth. The Saints were certainly not engaged in any evil and insidious conspiracies, but, as demonstrated through the activities of the Council of Fifty, the Kingdom of God was definitely more than merely an ecclesiastical concept.

The death of Brigham Young in 1877 apparently terminated the activities of the Council of Fifty until shortly before the reorganization of the First Presidency of the Church under John Taylor. In the spring of 1880, George Q. Cannon, prominent member of the Council of Fifty and congressional representative of the Territory in Washington, forwarded the records of the Council of Fifty, which he held in custody, to the leaders of the Church.⁴⁷ On April 10, the reorganization of the Council took place at the Council House in Salt Lake City.⁴⁸

This reorganization takes on special significance in the light of the political circumstances of Utah in 1880 and the following years. In 1879, the U. S. Supreme Court had sustained the conviction of George Reynolds for polygamy. This conviction portended an intensified anti-Mormon onslaught. The available evidence suggests that the Council of Fifty may have become a central committee to direct the defense of the Kingdom. A somewhat cryptic letter by L. John Nuttall, a recent member of the Council, to Bishop William D. Johnson of Kanab, seems to indicate that the Council of Fifty either expanded its organization, or else created subsidiaries to meet with the new emergency.⁴⁹ But with the passing of the Edmunds law in 1882, and the Edmunds-Tucker law in 1887, even a Council of Fifty proved powerless to protect polygamy and the political Kingdom of God from destruction. In 1890, the leaders of the

⁴⁶pp. 15-16.

⁴⁷L. John Nuttall, *Letter Book 1879-1881*, pp. 168, 178.

⁴⁸"Minutes of the Council of Fifty," April 10, 1880.

⁴⁹Nuttall, *Letter Book 1879-1881*, p. 356.

Church decided to submit to the demands of the government.

With the proclamation of the *Manifesto* not only polygamy ceased to be an issue in Utah politics, but the political Kingdom of God, likewise, gradually lost its controversial nature. A new era in Utah politics obviously had no room for the activities of a Council of Fifty. Thus, with the main causes for persecution removed, Mormonism, in the eyes of the world, became gradually acceptable, finally respectable. A new era had dawned. During this second period of Mormon history the Saints looked upon the restoration of the gospel primarily as a preparation for the Kingdom of Heaven. A carefully worked out plan of salvation, as revealed by Joseph Smith, still required many spiritual and temporal duties of the faithful; but dreams of a political Kingdom of God had faded away into a dim and almost forgotten past.

Reply to Professor Madsen's Critique

STERLING M. McMURRIN

It was generous of Professor Truman G. Madsen to write his thoughtful critique* of my essay on Mormon metaphysics. He has raised several interesting issues. I agree with what he says about Mormonism's being open-ended, incomplete, and in its development unsystematic. And I agree with him also in his suggestion that its "inmost meaning and vitality" are more available to the "participating prophet" than to the "detached philosopher." He realizes, I am sure, that I have no desire to close any ends or do any completing or systematizing. Certainly I would not want to distort Mormon thought by subjecting it to pigeon-holing, and I'm quite sure that this has not been done. My paper is simply an attempt to describe a few commonplace Mormon ideas by viewing them in terms of equally commonplace issues in metaphysics. As for prophets—it seems obvious to me that the vocation of prophets is religion and morality, not philosophy. The monograph, which was originally a public address, is concerned primarily with philosophy, not theology or religion. I have written a sequel on Mormon theology, soon to be published, which deals with a number of matters that Professor Madsen mentions, such as the doctrines relating to the fall, sin, grace, atonement, and salvation, and this will be followed by a piece on the Mormon religion.

But to return to the critique: I am pleased that Professor Madsen finds value in the type of thing that the monograph attempts. What the Church needs is a continuing analysis and evaluation of the philosophical ideas that constitute the intellectual foundations of Mormonism. Such an enterprise would be of inestimable worth to the Mormon people as well as to the institution. My paper is simply a preliminary identification and description of a few of those ideas. Professor Madsen seems to think that a discussion of Mormon philosophy must involve distilling the philosophical theses from the theology and that

*This journal, Vol. I, No. 2, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 101-105.

this necessarily entails superimposition and speculation. But clearly there are many such theses available in the accepted literature that do not have to be distilled from anywhere.

I think that I am less impressed than Professor Madsen by what he regards as the opposing concepts employed by me in describing Mormon thought. Moreover, in some cases I think he sees opposition where there is none. He refers, for instance, to what I have called quantitative pluralism and qualitative monism as if these were in some kind of opposition. But there is no real opposition here, because quantity cannot be compared with quality. Or in his reference to my statement about the platonic yet pragmatic facets of morality he overlooks the fact that I refer to platonic absolutism in connection with Mormon moral philosophy, and to pragmatism and instrumentalism in relation to Mormonism in practice. I do not mean to suggest that this is consistent, but inconsistency between ideas and practice rarely disturbs a living institution. Another example is his comparison of "the necessity or self-derivation of all existent things" with "genuine human freedom and novelty." I did not and would not say that Mormonism teaches that all existent things have necessary being, but rather that, being uncreated, the primary elements that are the basic constituents of the world are necessary. I fail to see where there is anything about such an idea that opposes the notions of freedom and novelty. But granting the syncretic character of Mormonism, and in this I certainly agree with Professor Madsen, I fail to see in this much that is of philosophical importance, although it may tell a great deal about the intellectual history of the Church and testify to its youth, its intellectual needs, and its potential for growth.

Professor Madsen offers several examples of what he calls my riding the wrong philosophical steed, apparently, if I understand him correctly, as a result of my being duped by words. The first is the matter of realism versus nominalism. I did not say that Mormon metaphysics is realistic, or that it is nominalistic, because although the ontological status of universals is one of the most important and persistent issues in metaphysics, and is one of basic importance to theology and religion, there appears to be no explicit Mormon position on this issue. My point was simply that an analysis of every day Mormon ideas and atti-

tudes reveals both realistic and nominalistic tendencies. Now I would like to make it clear that in my monograph I am not presuming to describe the *Priesthood*, but rather am simply raising the question of what Mormons typically mean when they use the word "priesthood," as when they say, for instance, that someone "holds the Priesthood." If Professor Madsen is correct in his particularistic interpretation, they mean that every individual person holds a separate individual priesthood. There are as many separate priesthoods as there are priests, and the expression, "*the Priesthood*" is just a collective term employed to designate these individual instances or pieces of Priesthood when they are taken in the aggregate. No doubt Professor Madsen would not like this idea, but I think he is stuck with it. He even compares the meaning of "priesthood" with the Mormon meaning of the word "spirit," and "spirit" in Mormon terminology refers to something that is highly individualized. There is no *the Spirit* "held" by individual persons. Each has or is his own spirit. I am sure that Professor Madsen would not favor the strictly nominalistic position here, which would recognize "priesthood" as a universal term but would hold it to be simply a word that does not designate anything beyond certain similarities that obtain among priests, as that they are all performers of the sacraments.

If my interpretation is correct, the term "priesthood" is intended to designate some kind of unified entity that has some genuine status in reality, and the expression, "*the Priesthood*" is not a collective term but refers rather to something whose unity is not destroyed by the fact that many persons "hold" it. This is not to say necessarily that "priesthood" designates something that has reality in the sense of platonic universals, over and above and separate from its individual representations, for although, referring to the early Donatist controversy, I mentioned platonic realism, it must be remembered that there are other theories that give ontological status to universals. For the most part since the thirteenth century and certainly at present, the dominant theory of universals entertained in Catholic philosophy, for instance, has been the moderate Aristotelian type that holds that universals are in some sense real but are always resident in particulars. Such an approach to the problem of the

nature of Priesthood would mean that the Priesthood has no reality independently of its being "held" by someone, yet it is a unity and its reality is not exhausted by a description of its individual instances. I think that most Mormon writers and Mormon people generally may mean something like this.

Before Professor Madsen completely settles for his idea that "Priesthood in Mormon literature is much more clearly a particular than a universal," I think he should take a long hard look at the following from the Doctrine and Covenants: "Which priesthood . . . is without beginning of days or end of years." (84:17), or the following statement from Joseph Smith, "The Priesthood is an everlasting principle, and existed with God from eternity, and will to eternity, without beginning of days or end of years." (*History of the Church, Period I, Vol. III*, p. 386.)

Moreover, I did not, as Professor Madsen seems to suppose, identify the Mormon and Catholic theories of priesthood. As he indicates, there are important differences. But there are also similarities, and Mormon writers would do well to take a better look at Catholicism. The Catholic Church has worked long and hard at its intellectual problems and has much to teach those who face the same kinds of problems.

But to get back to universals, my own disposition on the question of universals is to favor nominalism, a prejudice which is related to my preference for empirical rather than rationalistic method, and I have no desire to encourage the development of realism, or for that matter of anything else, in Mormon thought. In the first draft of my monograph, I quoted the well known "amen to the priesthood of that man" passage that lends support to the particularistic interpretation. I am surprised that Professor Madsen didn't use that passage against me, as it would have strengthened his argument. I abandoned it simply because I decided to illustrate the particularistic tendency in Mormonism by the tri-theism of the theology, just for the sake of variety.

Professor Madsen objects to my reference to platonism in describing Mormon value-theory. Now I do not think that there is such a thing as an explicit Mormon value theory. My point is simply that Mormon value philosophy frequently exhibits a

platonic character. This seems to me to be entirely obvious. What is meant here is simply that the norms of value are absolutes established in the structure of reality independently of passing circumstances. But as for platonism as such, there could not be a more interesting or extreme example than the passage by Orson Pratt in *The Seer* (Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 24) where God in the ultimate sense is defined as absolute, impersonal TRUTH — all caps. Describing the lower case Gods, Pratt says, "Persons are only tabernacles or temples, and TRUTH is the God that dwells in them." One would have to be Plato to be much more platonic. I am inclined to suspect, however, that few Mormons would be willing to pray to either Pratt's *Truth* or Plato's *Good*, although Pratt holds that "When we worship the Father, we do not merely worship His person, but we worship the truth which dwells in His person."

Incidentally, as an analogy to the Priesthood problem, Orson Pratt says of his platonic God, "Truth is not a plurality of truths because it dwells in a plurality of persons, but it is one truth, indivisible, though it dwells in millions of persons." (*loc. cit.*) Again, I can't help but feel that something like this is what most Mormons think about the Priesthood, call it a universal or not. However, I should not make too much of Orson Pratt's views here because in 1860 the First Presidency condemned certain passages relating to the discussion to which I have referred. (Cf. *Deseret News*, Vol. 10, Jan. 25, 1860, pp. 162-3.) Interestingly enough, the items that I have quoted were not listed among the condemned, though, given the censorship policy, I think they should have been.

Professor Madsen is concerned about my describing Mormonism as "a kind of naturalistic humanism within a general theistic context." I grant that this combination of words is not common, but I don't see anything here to get disturbed about. The word "humanism" has many uses and it has often been used as compatible with theism. And several Mormon theologians of recent vintage have been anxious to exclude the term "supernatural" and its cognates from the Mormon vocabulary. I think Professor Madsen makes too much of the problem of language. One might easily argue against him that he shouldn't use the word "Trinity" with a capital T, as he does, because

Mormon theology, being tritheistic rather than trinitarian, is opposed to the concept commonly designated by that word.

I do not understand what it is that Professor Madsen is objecting to in his discussion of the divine knowledge problem. Certainly, I see no need for discussing such matters as "calling, covenant, and prophecy" in a treatise on metaphysics. Nor do I find in Mormonism anything particularly unique in the treatment of this problem other than the fact that the very nature of the problem is affected by the temporal conception of God, as I have indicated. That Mormons commonly teach and believe that God has foreknowledge seems to me to be entirely obvious. The term "omniscience" with respect to Mormon theology is Professor Madsen's, not mine. It is fashionable, of course, to hold that foreknowledge and free will are contradictory, but I did not advance this argument because I am not sure that this is the case, considering certain logical subtleties associated with the meaning of free will, and because my purposes in the monograph were descriptive rather than critical. Certainly it is the common belief among Mormons that they are not contradictory.

It seems to me that the most valuable part of Professor Madsen's critique is his statement on the issue of necessity and contingency, where he objects to my failure to recognize what he calls the "contingency of potentiality" in the Mormon conception of man. I think this is an excellent point and I might well have given considerable attention to it. A somewhat extended discussion of this matter will appear in the essay on theology, where it seems to me it belongs. But Professor Madsen is quite wrong in supposing that I ignored this point and am arguing "that Mormonism is required to affirm the second sort of independence as an implication of the first." He seems to have overlooked, on page 29, such expressions as: "Whatever the doctrine holds of man's *dependence* on God. . . ." "... that *utter* contingency is not the condition of his being. . . ." "... for he is not *totally* God's creature. . ." and "... though he is finite. . ." I would insist, however, that for Mormons the doctrine that man ultimately is uncreated characteristically moderates the sense of dependence, contingency, and creatureliness. How often, for instance, does Professor Madsen meet Mormons

who have guilt feelings that are rooted not in their sins but simply in their consciousness of being beings. The typical Mormon considers himself to be on fairly good terms with himself, the world, and the Almighty. He doesn't worry much about his contingency even though he feels dependent upon God.

Professor Madsen further refers to my failure to mention the Mormon thesis of the "potential *destiny* of man," which "shatters several traditional presuppositions." I am not aware of any Mormon thesis that shatters anything, but I presume that he has in mind the same theory that I have in my closing sentence where I refer to the "radically unorthodox" concept of salvation (p. 29). Here again is a matter that I have preferred to treat, where I believe it belongs, in the essay on theology.

Finally, I must confess that I do not see Mormon literature, as does Professor Madsen, as a potential mine for distinctive theories of knowledge, ethics, language, history, etc. I do, however, believe that Mormonism has far more of what might be called intellectual strength than most of its advocates seem to recognize—or if they recognize, than they seem willing to publicize.

Book Reviews

Jacques Barzun, *The House of Intellect* (Harper and Brothers, New York, New York, 1959).

In this latest effort to include thinking America in his class room, Dr. Barzun constructs for us the metaphor of a house where intelligence reigns, surrounded by its offspring, the alphabet, linguistics, systems of education, communications, chains of reasoning and habits of discipline, to name only a few. One quickly notes that the intellectual "house that Jacques builds" sees the democratic world through a patrician window from a vantage similar to that of De Tocqueville, who is quoted therein with approval. His architecture is classical, not utilitarian; his materials are granite and marble, not red brick republican. One cannot be sure whether he is Sir Christopher Wren or Pierre C. L'Enfant, but he is not Frank Lloyd Wright.

His intent is to "plumb the ignorance of the educated and the anti-intellectualism of the intellectual." His criticisms are useful and, for the most part, well deserved. They solidly meet many problems faced by a democratic culture seeking to lift itself by its own bootstraps, vague as to which way is up and without effective systems for accomplishing what it does conceive to be good. Equalitarianism dilutes standards of instruction. Art is vague and full of mystic yearning. Men of the mass media obviously pander to prejudice and should know better because they have been exposed to learning. Page by page we agree. Certainly no travesty more inane was ever imposed upon intellect than what it is compelled to endure in "Big Town" or "Gopher Prairie" in the name of conviviality or even common sense; and every college professor will acknowledge as authentic, descriptions of scenes daily rehearsed in his own class room.

Despite similar indictments from other pens in recent years, Dr. Barzun's sketches escape the commonplace, for they are rich with historical and literary allusions drawn from a wide acquaintance with Western culture. They are done with such finesse that they prevent us from dismissing the book as an

accumulation of the author's personal frustrations and special viewpoints perhaps more suitable as single installments from the editor's chair, unconfined by a common cover.

And they are attractive in another way as well, for Dr. Barzun is not simply an ordinary thinker, lucid and profound; he is adroit and elusive, subtly doubling back upon himself with qualifications that undermine argument and with changing definitions that shift the ground of debate. One regrets that the margins of the book are too narrow for proper rebuttal, for need is frequently felt; but as one makes wind for rejoinder, he tacks and makes sail on your breeze. Perhaps the resultant delightful confusion is a deliberate reflection on the world, but one is disconcerted to find, for instance, that intellect is different things throughout the book. Now intellect must be followed, it is quick and perceptive, driving straight to the heart of the matter, yet beware, for we discover that it cannot formulate compromise and thus disaster lies in its rapid wake. Intellect is stiff and angular, not fit to guide life, which pulses and throbs; it should be excluded from politics; it was responsible for the Civil War; its possessors in America of the 1930's naively followed after the delusive phantoms of Communistic idealism. Similarly, art, being vague, is now an enemy of intellect, who is precise, but later "true art" is a complement. Here science divides the house into narrowly specialized apartments and its esoteric jargon makes the building a modern Babel, but elsewhere, the inductive and pragmatic approach to truth—another name for science—has created communications, educational systems, and patterns of government.

All of this is delightful stuff for jousting, but it does not add up even to a quest, much less to a blueprint for a brave new structure. Perhaps, as he suggests, things *were* better for intellect in the good old days of general illiteracy, or in nineteenth century England when the classics were studied and "clerisy" governed the land. But how does one go forward? Can a nation which has followed the slogan "the business of this country is business" readily orient itself to the affirmation that "what is good for intellect is good for the country?" Dr. Barzun thinks so, but beyond suggesting the exercise of our flaccid intellectual muscle, he does not show the way.

At the risk of appearing complaisant, may it not be asserted that intellect has never "had it so good" (bad as it is) as in America in mid-twentieth century? The evident confusion is of our own making and choosing. It is our accepted premise that anarchy (which is to say, maximized individualism) gradually collected into political, economic, religious, or intellectual consensus by democratic processes, is to be preferred to the frequently mis-directed strength of the strong.

We concur with the "fathers" of our political faith that neither monarchy nor aristocracy, during a Graeco-Christian millenium demonstrated a better way. Modern totalitarianism, which furnishes a chateau for its kept intellect and a grave for dissenters who will not be intimidated (our sympathies to Mr. Pasternak), hardly offers an acceptable alternative.

Democratic standards of value frequently need to be reset. It is a proper calling for a patrician, and Dr. Barzun does his bit for our present need. We shall help to restore the House of Intellect and urge the fidelity of its praetorian guard in the hope that it may become a showplace and a tradition, though not a dynasty. Meantime, we will not vacate our tower or expect even intellectual miracles to transform the wilderness into a promised land.

R. Kent Fielding

Handcarts to Zion. The story of a unique western migration, 1856-1860, with contemporary journals, accounts, reports; and rosters of members of the ten Handcart Companies. By LeRoy R. Hafen, Professor of History, Brigham Young University, and his wife, Ann W. Hafen. Published by the Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1960, in two editions: The "Pioneers Edition" at \$4.95, and as volume 14 of the Historical Series *The Far West and the Rockies, 1820-1875* (all volumes of which are under the joint editorship of the Hafens), at \$9.50. 328 pp.

The authors are eminently qualified to write on the subject of the handcart migration. A lifetime of research in western history has provided them with the general background for this account, and, as descendants of Utah pioneers and of one who crossed the plains in a handcart company, the ability to write history and edit historical documents is enhanced by personal interest. Dr. Hafen first treated this subject in a master's thesis completed at the University of Utah in 1919. He and Mrs. Hafen have been adding to their store of knowledge concerning the journeys by handcart since that time.

Many scholarly volumes have been produced by the Hafens, all widely acclaimed by fellow historians and those with a more general interest in western history, but this reviewer anticipates that *Handcarts to Zion* will add many new readers to the previous list, particularly from "Mormon" households. The extensive use of source materials and the thoroughness of the research, with the resulting wealth of information available in this study, make it apparent that the work will be basic to any study of the westward movement of the "Mormon" pioneers that may be undertaken in the future.

Ten handcart companies made the journey of over a thousand miles overland to Salt Lake valley between 1856 and 1860. Of the almost 3,000 members of these companies about 250 died en route. It had been predicted that those walking, pulling, and pushing the handcarts bearing all their earthly possessions, could travel with greater speed than the wagon trains hampered

by slow moving ox teams. The first three companies tended to bear out the prediction. The fourth and fifth and now famous Willie and Martin companies resulted in stark tragedy. Only the prompt action of Brigham Young and his associates in sending out rescue parties kept the number who died as low as it was.

Although the church leaders reported that the 1856 tragedies did not discourage them, and a group of missionaries were sent east by handcart from Utah to demonstrate how practical this mode of travel was, only five more companies made the trek during the years from 1857 to 1860, when the tenth and last group with their two-wheeled vehicles arrived in Utah.

Today the handcart experiment is one of the many curiosities in the annals of western history. With the pony express, the trail drives, the rush for gold, trapping for beaver, vigilantes, Indian massacres and other phenomena, the story of the handcart migrations with the accompanying heartaches, tragedy, faith, and devotion adds color to the many threaded tapestry which is early western history.

Appropriate illustrations and a map of the handcart route add interest and enhance the good workmanship that has come to be expected in the publications of the Arthur H. Clark Company. Professional historians, western history enthusiasts, those interested in Mormon church history, and other lay readers will find interesting information available to them in this useful study.

—S. LYMAN TYLER

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by slow moving ice trains. The first three expeditions tended to beat out the pack routes. The fourth and fifth and now Mission Prince and Martin companies revealed in stark tragedy. Only the private collector, Benjamin Young and his associates in sending out snow-shoes parties kept the routes who died in loss and ice.

Although the church leaders deplored that the first expeditions did not discourage them, and a group of missionaries were not sent by land from Alaska in comparatively few practical feet made at speed was, only two more companies made the trek during the years from 1857 to 1860, when the first and last group with them (two wheeled vehicles arrived in 1860).

Today the furthest expedition is one of the many curiosities in the annals of western history. With the prey rapine, the mail drivers, the hunt for gold, trapping for furs, vigilantes, Indian massacres and other phenomena, the story of the hard and unglorious work the extraordinary hardships, tragedy, faith, and devotion with which so few men shouldered a journey which only went eastward.

A good example of this work and a map of the mountainous and intense and volume the great wilderness that has come to be reported in the publication of the *Alaska H. Clark Company, Furmen, Trappers, and other hunters, explorers, their adventures in Alaska, their history, and their lives, and their work, and their adventures, available in book in the world.*

—B. Vincent



